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## The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

## REPORT

OF THE

# SPECIAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE PROBLEM OF DRUNKENNESS IN MASSACHUSETTS

UNDER CHAPTER 62 OF THE RESOLVES OF 1943

March 7, 1945



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# The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

STATE HOUSE, BOSTON, MASS., March 7, 1945.

To the General Court of Massachusetts.

The Special Commission, created under chapter 62, Resolves of 1943, to make a study and investigation of all factors relating to the problem of drunkenness in Massachusetts, has the honor to submit herewith its report.

These few pages with proposals to implement the Commission's findings and recommendations constitute the report. A rather comprehensive Special Supplement, which forms a part of this report, elaborating upon the material briefed in this document, is attached hereto.

JOSEPH T. ZOTTOLI,

Chairman.

CLIFTON T. PERKINS.

REUBEN L. LURIE.

In view of the fact that Mr. Reuben L. Lurie spent many months participating in the proceedings of the Commission, and I, the undersigned, did not become a member of the Commission until December 5, 1944, and therefore did not attend any of the hearings held by the Commission, it is obvious that I have not had sufficient opportunity to properly study the various phases of this report. Therefore I reserve my right to approve or disapprove the recommendations set forth in the report.

MATTHEW W. BULLOCK.

### The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

To the General Court of Massachusetts.

The undersigned members of the Special Commission to Study the Problem of Drunkenness in Massachusetts desire to commend to your careful consideration the thorough and scholarly Special Supplement referred to on page 3. By and large this Special Supplement represents a summary of the results of many years, indeed an active lifetime, of careful and devoted study by our chairman, Judge Zottoli. We believe that this survey is very important and may well be classified as one of the major contributions to the knowledge concerning the alcoholic problem in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The sections which summarize the historical background and trace the developmental phases of this medico-social-penological problem in Massachusetts, so aptly illustrated by sample charts and by case histories of individuals known personally by Judge Zottoli, will be of inestimable value to Massachusetts students of alcoholism.

Again, this Special Supplement represents only a summary — only a fraction of the tables and charts and condensation of literature — of the information on this subject which our chairman, Judge Zottoli, has at his "finger tips" at all times. He has much more general information, and hundreds more of charts and graphs, which he asserts are available to proper public officials or to those persons who sincerely are interested in a detailed study of the problem of alcoholism. We have studied them, and we commend them to the study of all interested persons.

The Late

Respectfully,

CLIFTON T. PERKINS.
REUBEN L. LURIE.
MATTHEW W. BULLOCK

### CONTENTS.

REPORT.	
	PAGE
Introduction	. 9
I. General Comments Regarding Alcohol and Drunkenness	. 12
II Education in Tomparance	. 16
A. Formal Education  B. Education by Associated Groups  C. Education by the Industry	. 17
B. Education by Associated Groups	. 19
C. Education by the Industry	
III. Inebriety, Crime and Penology	. 21
A. The "Release" Law	. 24
B. Nolle Prosequi	. 27
C. General Statutory and Administrative Consideration as t	
Current Practices	
IV. Inebriety and Mental Illness	. 32
V. Relationship of Inebriety to Financial Dependence on Others .	. 35
VI. Cost of Drunkenness	. 35
A. Tangible Cost	. 36
B. Intangible Costs	. 36
VII. A Five-Way Plan for the Future Medical Care of Alcoholics .	. 37
VIII. Personal License	. 41
A. Personal Aspects	. 41
B. Financial Aspects	. 45
IX. Provision for Continuous Study and Investigation is Desirable	. 46
X. Summary	. 47
	and the last
APPENDICES.	
APPENDIX A. An Act further regulating the Labelling of Beverage Alcoh-	ol 48
APPENDIX B. An Act further amending the "Release Law"	
APPENDIX C. An Act forbidding the Entry of a Nolle Prosequi under Ce	
tain Conditions	
APPENDIX D. An Act providing for the Establishment of a Hospital for	
Alcoholics	
APPENDIX E. An Act regulating the Use of Intoxicating Beverages .	. 56
APPENDIX F. An Act providing for the Establishment of a Commission for	
the Continuous Study of Drunkenness	. 61
Acknowledgments	. 64
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN PERSONAL CHARTS	. 66
SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT.	
CHAPTER I.	
Early History of Alcoholic Fields discussed	. 69
Clara name II	
CHAPTER II.	Lunes high
Comments on Pre-Colonial History relating to Alcoholic Beverages .	. 78
CHAPTER III.	
Early Penological Activities of Massachusetts in the Alcoholic Field .	. 80

CHAPTER IV.	PAGE
Medical Treatment of Inebriety Prior to 1887	93
C	
CHAPTER V.	
Certain Sociological, Criminological and Penological Aspects relating to In- ebriety in Massachusetts	97
and the state of t	
CHAPTER VI.	
History of Hospitalization and Special Institutionalization of Alcoholics .	138
CHAPTER VII.	
Generalizations to the Effect that Psychological-Penological Methods are not Effective Preventives of Drunkenness, and are not Well-founded	160
CHAPTER VIII.	
The "Release Law" Discussed	161
The Release Daw Discussed	101
CHAPTER IX.	
The "Filing" of Drunkenness Cases discussed	171
CHAPTER X.	
The Probation System relating to Inebriety discussed	181
Crumon VI	
CHAPTER XI.	
The "Fine System" in Inebriety Cases discussed	201
CHAPTER XII.	
Discussion of Short Sentences and Recidivism in Drunkenness, and Percentage	
of Intemperance among Criminals	205
CHAPTER XIII.	
"Long Sentences" in Drunkenness Cases discussed	220
CHAPTER XIV.	
Nolle Prosequi in Inebriety Cases discussed	224
Trong Trosequi in Incorrety Cases discussed	221
CHAPTER XV.	
The Theory advocating the "Letting Down of Present Punitive Bars" in	
Drunkenness Cases is Unsound	260
CHAPTER XVI.	
History of Hospitalization of Inebriates by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts	263
setts	200
CHAPTER XVII.	
Excessive Beverage Alcohol considered a Narcotic Drug or Poison, Destructive	
and Degenerative to the Human Organism	290
CHAPTER XVIII.	00=
Alcoholism and its Relationship to Personal Injuries and Other Diseases	297
CHAPTER XIX.	
Alcohol and its Relationship to Longevity of Life and the Death Rate	302

CHAPTER XX.	PAGE												
Inebriety and its Relationship to Crime	307												
CHAPTER XXI.													
Cost of County Prisons and its Relationship to Alcoholism in Massachusetts $$ .	313												
CHAPTER XXII.													
Cost of "Felony" Prisons and its Relationship to Alcoholism in Massachu-													
setts													
CHAPTER XXIII.													
Relationship of Mental Disease to Inebriety													
CHAPTER XXIV.													
Cost of Mental Disease due to Inebriety in Massachusetts	333												
CHAPTER XXV.													
Relationship of Inebriety to Public Welfare, Venereal Disease and Sex													
Offences. Cost Thereof													
CHAPTER XXVI.													
Other Losses due to Inebriety	348												
CHAPTER XXVII.													
Remedial and Preventive Measures discussed	353												



# The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL COMMISSION TO INVESTIGATE THE PROBLEM OF DRUNKEN-NESS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

#### Introduction.

The Special Commission to Investigate the Problem of Drunkenness in Massachusetts was created by chapter 62 of the Resolves of 1943, as follows:

Resolved, That the chairman of the parole board, the commissioner of mental health and a justice of the municipal court of the city of Boston to be appointed by the governor, acting as a joint board, are hereby authorized and directed to make a study and investigation of all factors relating to the problem of drunkenness in Massachusetts to the end that, because of the high expense involved to the taxpayers and the fact that there is medical evidence that this problem is more medical than criminal, such changes may be made in the laws of this commonwealth as may be necessary. Said joint board may expend for clerical and other expenses such sums, not exceeding, in the aggregate, two thousand dollars, as may hereinafter be appropriated therefor. Said board shall report to the general court the result of its investigation and its recommendations, if any, together with such drafts of legislation as may be necessary to carry such recommendations into effect, by filing the same with the clerk of the house of representatives on or before the first Wednesday of November in the year nineteen hundred and forty-four.

The Legislature subsequently appropriated the sum of \$2,000 for the work of this Commission.

The Commission met and organized on October 6, 1943. Judge Joseph T. Zottoli, Associate Justice of the Boston Municipal Court, was elected chairman. John C. Bond of Newton Lower Falls was named secretary.

The Commission has held many official executive sessions and two public hearings at the State House. A large number

of individuals possessing specialized knowledge on the subject of alcoholism and related topics were interviewed by the Commission at the executive sessions. Those coming before the Commission represented many types of organizations and included medical authorities, state and city officials, members of licensing boards and the Alcoholic Beverages Commission, the liquor industry, representatives of social and welfare agencies and penal administrators. In addition to these more formal meetings, the members of the Commission have consulted frequently and informally with each other, and have spent countless hours in individual study of the problem at hand.

On October 30, 1944, a preliminary report of progress was filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, requesting an extension of the Commission to the first Wednesday in March, 1945 (March 7, 1945), and that the unexpended balance of the original appropriation (\$2,000) be authorized for further expenditures within the limitations to that date. These requests were granted by the current Legislature.

On December 5, 1944, Mr. Lurie's resignation as chairman of the Parole Board became effective, and Matthew W. Bullock of Boston was named as his successor. In their capacity as chairman of the Parole Board, Mr. Lurie and Mr. Bullock have participated actively in the Commission proceedings as provided by the resolve.

During the course of its proceedings the Commission has been interested in many angles of the problem of drunkenness. It did not seem practical to incorporate all of these aspects in the body of the main report, and so we have confined ourselves to the chief aspects, as we see them, concerning which we believe it practical that some action be taken. Other points have been discussed at length in the Special Supplement.

It may seem ironical that at the conclusion of this study our thoughts and recommendations finally have become crystallized along the same general trends which repeatedly have been called to the attention of the General Court during the past thirty-five years through the media of special messages or special reports (especially House, No. 1390 of 1910; House, No. 2450 of 1913; House, No. 2053 of 1914; House, No. 167 of 1935; House, No. 2400 of 1939; and House, No. 1276 of 1943). We will not repeat much of the actual material in those documents in this report. They are public documents and readily are available.

It would have been well to have had an even more thorough study of drunkenness which would have included a central index; a more detailed study of the problem in several urban and industrial areas and in several rural areas; a more detailed study of the problem concerning various social and racial factors; a more detailed study of the problem concerning the current trends of social legislation; and a more detailed study of the problem concerning the impact of war on the total "home front" in Massachusetts. Time, funds and the probable lack of properly trained personnel would not permit such all-inclusive studies at this time. However, since Massachusetts is predominantly an urban and industrial State, and since the locale of the greatest problem of drunkenness in the State is Boston, we have given that city our special attention.

In our deliberations we have concerned ourselves mostly with drunkenness as it is manifested in its gross drug phase through being the primary or an important contributory cause in —

- 1. Harm to the individual where the individual has required active medical care because of either mental or physical conditions arising from alcoholism.
- 2. Harm to the family where the family is broken up, abused or neglected because of alcoholism. Alcoholic absenteeism from employment forms an important part of this picture.
- 3. Harm to society where society is concerned through crime, disturbance of the peace, drunken driving, laxity in certain forms of employment where the welfare of others is concerned, etc., due to alcoholism.

Hence our general concept of drunkenness as a medicosocial-penological problem for the purpose of this report. We have not been concerned with the drinker, no matter how heavily he may drink, unless one or more of the above manifestations are obvious. We have not considered that even heavy drinking and alcoholism (or drunkenness) are necessarily synonymous.

During our meetings and in the preparation of this report we have tried to view the problem of drunkenness objectively, without assuming the role of a crusader on the one hand, and, on the other hand, without attempts at undue concern with those whose livelihood depends upon the liquor industry. We accept the fact that imbibing of alcoholic beverages is rather firmly established as a custom in the lives of a large percentage of our adult population.

Throughout the report we have drawn freely upon information and opinions given to us by those with whom we have consulted in the public hearings; in executive sessions and privately; and also from numerous articles in the literature. It seemed an endless task to identify specific credit where specific points are brought out, but we believe that the acknowledgments and identifications in the report and in the Special Supplement cover, in general, the sources of our information.

# I. General Comments regarding Alcohol and Drunkenness.

Now, as in times past, drunkenness reigns the world over. It is the chief vice indulged in by the people of all countries. Ours is no exception.

The alleged benefits and shortcomings of alcoholism have been discussed and debated times without limit in religious halls and legislative assemblies and in other general and scientific gatherings. The literature of the world relating to alcoholism is very extensive and is full of repetition, cloudy thinking and sophistry. Ignorance, fraud, corruption and deceit all have played their part in obscuring and preventing a true evaluation of the effects caused by its intemperate use. As science and education have cut salients into the dark areas of the ignorant past, the true character of beverage alcohol has become known and its injurious effects from its intemperate use have been exposed. (See Special Supplement, Chapters I to VI, inclusive.)

What beverage alcohol is and what comes from overindulgence in it no longer are controversial among those who have studied its composition and its effects on human tissue and life.

It is now well settled that beverage alcohol is a narcotic drug, having no vitamines, minerals, fats or proteins. In short, it has no nutritive value for all practical purposes. Science now emphasizes the fact that alcohol is a drug, that alcohol addiction is drug addiction, and that to be intoxicated is to be poisoned as the term implies. (See Special Supplement, Chapter XVII.) Beverage alcohol adds nothing important to the growth and maintenance of the body, and it neither promotes general health nor retards the onset of disease. In short, its moderate use by healthy individuals is, at most, a luxury.

As early as 1909, leading doctors who were world-known specialists in the treatment of alcoholics stated that they were in general agreement that "exact laboratory, chemical and pathological research has demonstrated that alcohol is a dehydrating, protoplasmic poison, and hence its use as a beverage is destructive and degenerating to the human organism. Its effects on the cells and tissues of the body are depressive, narcotic and anæsthetic. Hence, therapeutically, it should be used with the same care and restrictions as other poisonous drugs." (See Special Supplement, Chapter XVII.) Records plainly show that much of the work of the general hospitals is necessitated by the degenerations and diseases which the alcoholic patient is not able to cast off because of his weakened condition caused by alcoholism. We venture to say, from what we now observe. that when, if ever, full, proper and co-ordinated records can be kept of hospitalization and keyed to a central index, society will be shocked at the full extent of the human wreckage. The effects of excess beverage alcohol on the longevity of life, and its relationship to the death rate. and to personal injury and disease are astounding. (See Special Supplement, Chapters XVIII and XIX.)

The last comprehensive study in Massachusetts of deaths from poisoning (toxic substances) as used in the medicolegal sense was made by Drs. Leo Alexander, Merrill Moore and Timothy Leary of Boston, and covered the ten-year period from 1928–1937, inclusive. Among other comments in the summary of their factual findings are the statements that "Of these substances alcohol (ethyl alcohol) leads all others. Alcohol does not only cause more deaths than any other toxic substance, but more than all others put together. Alcohol is responsible for 52 per cent of all deaths due to toxic substances. . . ." (See Special Supplement, Chapter XVII.)

It would seem redundant to rehearse more of a summary of the medical and other scientific advances in knowledge as to the effects of overindulgence in alcoholic beverages. A fuller appreciation of the brief comments stated above may be gained by reading what is set out in the material appended as a Special Supplement to this report and forming a part thereof. (See Special Supplement, Chapters XVII to XIX, inclusive.) It may serve a useful purpose to point out that the Personal Charts of alcoholics, made by Judge Zottoli and appearing in those chapters in the Special Supplement, give added strength to the general observations noted above. One such illustrative chart (151-Z) follows. In this particular case one may visualize readily the penological and institutionalization records of the individual, and note how those records coincide in general with the availability of beverage alcohol.

151-		FEMA		BORN	MAR	2.27,18	371.	CHAR	T BY J	UDGE	J. T. ZO	TTOL
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1942		11/1/		4///								
1943		1/1/1		/////	/////							
1944	11/1/2											

This chart is a duplicate of chart 151-Z appearing in chapter V of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

Again, from the time of the landing of the Pilgrims to the present date the citizens of this Commonwealth have tried almost every method that the human mind could conceive in an effort to control and minimize injurious effects due to the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors. Judge Zottoli has traced much of what has transpired from ancient days to the present time in the Special Supplement. From the material set forth in that Supplement one may gain a fair conception of the struggle that has gone on to overcome the ravages of the excessive use of beverage alcohol and the results gained from the various attempts to minimize or salvage the human wreckage that has resulted therefrom. The charts that are set out, when viewed in the light of contemporary factors, clearly show the successes and the failures that have been scored in past years, and the reasons therefor. It will serve no useful purpose to enlarge thereon at this point. Suffice to point out again that, notwithstanding the efforts our Commonwealth has made to control properly the human wreckage caused by the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages, in a large measure it has failed to do so. This observation is not novel. It has been made on numerous occasions since the early Colonial days. The evidence is conclusive that this failure has been in the past, and now is, due to the fact that there has been intemperance and that intemperate persons have been permitted to degenerate to an irreversible condition of body and mind before proper treatment has been applied. Upon this premise we will proceed to consider specific problems.

### II. EDUCATION IN TEMPERANCE.

Prevention in whatever field it is applied usually is a slow, painstaking and burdensome process. But prevention as thought of in terms of aggregates of people, and as measured in decades or generations, is far more important than a few current cures. A preventive program is an absolutely certain way of achieving results in any condition or situation where the underlying cause is known. Money thus spent is the cheapest way of attaining goals of normal

health and happiness in a long-range program. The primary cause of drunkenness is known, — overindulgence in beverage alcohol.

#### A. Formal Education.

Continued and more active formal education on normal health goals — emphasizing more the effects of overindulgence in alcoholic beverages, together with the general hygienic and scientific aspects involved — can afford the greatest preventive program against drunkenness. Particularly is this so if the program is on a wide base correlating formal school education with the active interest of the home, the church and other character-building groups; and supplemented by continued progress in current social trends to improve facilities for recreational or other leisure-time activities, and by slum clearance.

There has been considerable complaint of late years to the effect that the instruction given to the pupils in the public schools of our Commonwealth "as to the effects of alcoholic drinks and of stimulants and narcotics on the human system," as required by chapter 71 of the General Laws, section 1, has been meagre and at times not in accordance with the facts now established by science.

It is apparent from an examination of the school books now in use in some of our public schools that these complaints are not without foundation. A number of these dealing with the field in question have little, if anything, to do with the effects of alcoholic beverages on "the human system." At least one set contains a statement that is misleading. We quote a statement from it as an example:

The long-continued use of beer and wine does not usually produce serious injury to the brain and nervous system, but the long-continued use of strong drinks, such as whiskey and gin, often result in inflammation at nerve trunks (neuritis).

It needs no extensive argument to establish the importance of teaching the truth with relation to any subject, more especially as "to effects of alcoholic drinks . . . on the human system." It is especially important that the books in our public schools should be reviewed and brought

up-to-date on this subject. And it is equally important that our teachers be diligent in their responsibilities.

Massachusetts has witnessed a long campaign of education concerning the untoward effects of alcohol, — a campaign which only slowed up with the advent of prohibition. The disastrous effects of this want of diligence is now easily observable. While there is still much left to be desired, nevertheless, science has established many truths about alcohol and its direct and indirect effects of its excesses on human beings which heretofore had been controversial. Other States have resurveyed this field and have established up-to-date public school courses aimed towards more adequate education concerning alcoholic beverages and their effects. A splendid research in this field made by Anne Roe, Ph.D., Director of Education, "Research Studies on Problems of Alcohol," appears in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. III, 574–662.

Of those who have met with this Commission, either in public hearings or in executive sessions, many have stressed this very point — the need of more overt interest in the formal education of both pupils and teachers in the effects of the excessive use of alcoholic beverages. Only one individual has expressed himself against such public and widespread education.

We understand that the Massachusetts Department of Education is reviewing the educational field in this Commonwealth at the present time, and in due time, no doubt, will take up this matter and bring our educational data up-to-date in the field to which we have referred.

We recommend that the Department of Education pursue its present course aimed towards strengthening public education in health and towards renewed emphasis on the ill effects of overindulgence in alcohol, and give serious consideration to the conclusions reached in the survey referred to above, with a view to establishment of a Supervisor of Health and Narcotic Education, as is the practice in certain other States and in certain Provinces of Canada.

### B. Education by Associated Groups.

The church and other character-building organizations form an important part of any educational program, in, a less formal manner, by establishing and interpreting general standards of living with each other. That is very important and effective in the preventive phase. It is no less important in the curative phase, but its effectiveness (through religious conversion, etc.) is more with individual alcoholics who seek it rather than with aggregates.

Alcoholics Anonymous as an organization is fulfilling a very useful end in the curative phase, by reclaiming, largely through education and through association with each other, individual alcoholics who desire voluntarily to be reclaimed.

In their own quiet way, the Salvation Army, the Boston Council of Social Agencies, and similar groups throughout the State, have done a remarkably fine piece of work in salvaging a number of alcoholics, and particularly in seeing that the effects of their individual overindulgences are minimized in their respective family circles. Theirs is an endless task of social work and education, teaching people how to live in a complex society.

The recent establishment of the Boston Committee for Education on Alcoholism is another step in the right direction towards educating the alcoholic, and towards educating the public in regard to its responsibility to the alcoholic.

We would like to encourage such groups as those mentioned above to continue their commendable work in their educational and rehabilitation programs, and to expand those programs with renewed vitality.

### C. Education by the Industry.

Another aspect which has hardly been touched in the educational field has to do with education of early drinkers as to how to drink and when to stop. Most early drinkers, who have the intellectual capacity to understand, become self-educated about liquor by the labels on the bottle. They

get to know "good" brands from "poorer" brands: they become familiar with certain differences between "raw" and "aged" whiskey, and with certain aspects of "blends" and "proof" — but not as to their effects. And all this from experience and from studying commercial advertisements and the compulsory labels on the bottles. Dr. Timothy Leary of Boston ("Some Newer Aspects of the Alcohol Problem," N. E. Jour. of Med., May 19, 1938) and Dr. Leo Alexander of Boston ("Alcoholism and Mental Disease," Pub. No. 9 of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1939) have gone into this question at some length.

As a step in the right direction to meet this aspect of the educational field, Drs. Alexander, Moore and Myerson of Boston have suggested (in a paper entitled "The Sale of Alcoholic Beverages," presented to the 92d Annual Session of the American Medical Association, June 4, 1941, and later printed in "Mental Hygiene," April, 1942) that each liquor bottle be labeled somewhat as follows:

Directions for Use: Use moderately and not on successive days. Eat well while drinking, and, if necessary, supplement food by vitamin tablets while drinking. Warning: May be habit-forming; not for use by children. If this beverage is indulged in consistently and immoderately it may cause intoxication (drunkenness), later neuralgia and paralysis (neuritis) and serious mental derangement, such as delirium tremens and other curable and incurable mental diseases, as well as kidney and liver damage.

Such a label briefly tells how to drink, and provides a general warning as to when to stop. While it might have little effect on the chronic alcoholics of today, we believe that such labeling would be a step towards better education in reducing drunkenness in the future.

During the course of our hearings many critical remarks were made relative to the widespread use of advertising by the liquor industry. Such advertising is a means of telling those who are interested what kinds of alcoholic beverages are available for purchase, and undoubtedly serves as some inducement to the public to invest in the commodity. By and large the adult public wants to drink, it wants to invest part of its money in the liquor industry, and therefore it must accept advertising as an integral part of the ful-

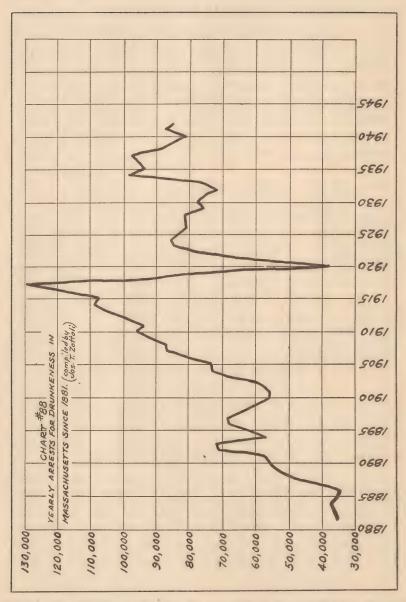
fillment of its desire. Overindulgence, or drunkenness, can be controlled better by other means than attempting to curb seriously any legitimate advertising by the industry.

We recommend that section 24, chapter 138, General Laws (Tercentenary Edition, as amended) (the Liquor Control Act) be amended at the end of the first sentence as set forth in Appendix A; and we further recommend that as soon as may be after such amendment becomes effective, the Alcoholic Beverages Control Commission promulgate a regulation along the general lines noted above.

### III. INEBRIETY, CRIME AND PENOLOGY.

This field has been surveyed many times, not only in our Commonwealth, but also in other states and countries. Our chairman has surveyed arrests, commitments and prison population of our Commonwealth for all crimes and all prisons, jails and houses of correction. This survey is quite exhaustive, and many graphs have been drawn showing the annual trends from the date of the establishment of the various prisons of our Commonwealth, together with personal charts. Some of these charts and graphs are elaborated upon in the Special Supplement which is made a part hereof. In brief, this survey shows that about 50 per cent of the felonies committed in our State are related to alcoholism, and that about 85 per cent of the commitments for misdemeanors are due to alcoholism or crimes related thereto. (See Special Supplement, Chapter XX.)

By and large over the years, both penology and medicine have failed to profit actively from the lessons learned from drunkenness. (See Special Supplement, Chapters II to XVI, inclusive.) Arrests for drunkenness have continued at a level consistent with the availability of beverage alcohol. This is readily discernible in the following chart (88).



This chart is a duplicate of chart 88 appearing in chapter V of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

To make matters worse, our penal system permits nullification of honest efforts at salvaging by experienced judges, by injudicious nol prossing on the part of less experienced or advantage-seeking public officials. (See Special Supplement, Chapter XIV.) It is obvious from what has been said that changes in the present system are imperative, to the end that the intemperate user of alcoholic beverage may be prevented from degenerating into a physical and mental condition for which science has no cure. What this degeneration consists of, and how it affects the body politic, has been set out amply in the Special Supplement to this report (see Special Supplement, Chapters X to XXVI, inclusive). Judge Zottoli has set out charts and compilations and data showing how the release law and the power of the nolle prosse are now being operated to the detriment of the alcoholic. We also have reviewed carefully the past and present penological systems dealing with alcoholism, and what are obviously their weaknesses. (See Special Supplement, Chapters II to XVI inclusive.)

There are no personal charts appearing here which depict alcoholism or drunkenness in its relationship to the more serious crimes of homicide, arson, serious sex offences, etc. Such instances have been called to public attention sufficiently through the medium of the press at the time of occurrence of such crimes. It takes only a moment of reflection or a brief review of the public press over the past few years to recall many instances of serious crimes which have been committed, admittedly, while the offender was drunk. Therefore the personal charts incorporated in this report and its Special Supplement illustrate only the "usual run" of chronic alcoholics which ordinarily is not called to public attention through the press.

From this study it is apparent that one of the fundamental reasons why present measures do not solve the problems related to inebriety is that our present penological system does not prevent the human wreckage that alcohol causes to that part of the social stream that refuses to obey the dictates of hygienic, moral or statute law.

We now endeavor to salvage after irreparable harm has

resulted. Obviously it is then too late for success because science does not yet know any special remedy which will cure inebriates when that stage is reached. (See Special Supplement, Chapters II to VI, inclusive.)

To repeat, all the evidence before us shows that the failure to reclaim the intemperate user of alcoholic beverages is due largely to the fact that he is dealt with too leniently when his condition is reversible. (See Special Supplement, Chapters VII to XXVII, inclusive.) Correctional penology has failed in its salvage efforts, and preventive penology has not been given a fair trial, either to the alcoholic or to society at large.

In this regard there are two measures in particular that have worked to prevent the salvaging of intemperates.

### A. The "Release" Law.

It has been demonstrated that the indiscriminate releasing of persons arrested for drunkenness four times within the year, as permitted by our laws, defeats successful preventive action by the courts and is one of the primary causes of the failure of penology to treat properly and thus prevent intemperance.

A study of the records relating to "chronic drunks" passing through the Boston Municipal Court clearly demonstrates that frequent releases precede the forming of habits which bring about degeneration of body and mind, ultimately resulting in irreversible chronic conditions and unsalvageable human wreckage.

The history of the "release law" shows that it was not the intent of those who originated it that the law should be applied indiscriminately. The original purpose was to give the "beginner" or "accidental drunk" a chance to be treated in private "homes" or "retreats" without being taken before the court, and thus "stigmatized" by court action and contaminated by contact with criminals.

The "release" law as operated at present, we believe, is ineffective. This does not mean, however, that it may not be operated so as to be very effective in preventing

addiction. The inefficiency of the "release law" lies in the fact that it facilitates the acquiring of the so-called "habit" before preventive measures are taken. It resembles the calling of the fire department after the house has burned down.

In a special report to the Legislature in 1910 the Trustees of Norfolk State Hospital indicated an understanding of the weaknesses and strength of the improper and proper use of the release law. They said:

Release which is an excellent and proper disposition for the first offender or accidental drunkard, has been applied consciously to second, third and fourth offenders, when the probation officer is of the opinion that the man has not been arrested twice before within the preceding year. Further, many individuals who have been arrested more than twice previously within the year escape detection and secure release, owing to the lack of a central record bureau which should serve as a depository for records of all cases in all courts. Thus occasional drunkards have been allowed, through neglect, to develop confirmed inebriety and become burdens on the State.

It should be apparent that it is too late to salvage an alcoholic when his condition has become irreversible. One has about as much chance to reverse conditions in the majority of such cases as a housewife has in making cucumbers out of pickles. One release at most, and this only in the case of the "accidental" offender or the "beginner," should be the rule if the courts are to do an adequate salvage job. This method does impose more work on those operating the penal system, but the objectives secured, we believe, would be worth the added effort.

An example of how frequent releases lead to excessive inebriety and finally to hospitalization is vividly shown in the following personal chart (49–Z). Note how this so-called "moderate drinker" had thirty-five releases under our present system of penology. Note also the "nol prosses" and Superior Court "files" when the lower courts tried to salvage him through preventive penology in 1933 and 1934. Many similar charts and briefs of case histories may be found scattered throughout the Special Supplement.

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This chart is a duplicate of chart 49-Z appearing in chapter VIII of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

We recommend that only one release from custody, without arraignment, within the year, be granted to persons arrested for drunkenness, instead of four as now permitted under Massachusetts law. This will require amending the so-called "release law" (General Laws (Tercentenary Edition, as amended), section 45, chapter 272) as provided in Appendix B filed herewith.

### B. Nolle Prosequi.

Careful surveys show that the power of the "nol pros" in drunkenness cases is being abused greatly to the detriment not only of the defendant but also of his family and the Commonwealth. As now practiced by some district attorneys its abuse is out of step with faithful and efficient administration of justice. It is clear from the information before us that this maladministration of drunkenness cases must be curbed if inebriety is to be checked.

By the injudicious use of the "nol pros" intemperates are permitted to degenerate into chronic drunkards, and these into human wrecks requiring hospitalization for either mental or physical conditions. A glance at the tables and the personal charts of these addicts clearly shows the seriousness of the situation. Two sample charts follow. The first chart (42-Z) is of an individual who was "drinking his head off," using his pension on liquor. The courts tried to get him to the State Farm where he could be helped to build up what was left of him, but twenty-nine "nol prosses" let him add to his illnesses. He went repeatedly to the Long Island Hospital (where, of course, he could not be held) for "alcoholism and destitution." The second sample chart (350-Z) shows the functioning of the "nol pros" in the individual who is of more than casual "political significance."

Here lies one of the reasons for 25 per cent of the mental illness in our State institutions and for such of the other breakdowns in our social fabric as referred to in the Special Supplement of this report. For a detailed study of how the power of "nol pros" is being abused, see Special Supplement, Chapter XIV and the charts and tables therein referred to.

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This chart is a duplicate of chart 42-Z appearing in chapter XIV of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

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This chart is a duplicate of chart 350-Z appearing in chapter XIV of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

Apr.

We recommend that the Commonwealth again resort to legislation which will forbid the "nol prossing" of drunkenness cases without the concurrence of a Superior Court justice, as provided in Appendix C.

# C. General Statutory and Administrative Considerations as to Current Practices.

Many complaints have been voiced relative to the number and quality of the outlets for the sale of liquor based upon the premise that these considerations are important factors in the over-all problem of drunkenness. We have looked into this aspect somewhat, and from our present information we believe that the Massachusetts system with its checks and balances for the control of liquor sales is not surpassed in sister States. Local option is a tradition in this State, and at frequent intervals the voters are given an opportunity to state their preference as to whether or not they desire liquor outlets in their community, and if they do so desire they may state further what kinds of outlets may be permitted. Local authorities representing local interest issue the licenses, subject to the approval of the Alcoholic Beverages Commission, and the latter acts as a court of appeal from decisions of the local licensing boards. Thus, the A. B. C. and the local boards act as a check on each other to prevent excessive and unwarranted issuance of licenses. If errors are made which contribute towards drunkenness they can be handled adequately through administrative channels. The system is a good one and a democratic one.

As to the quality of the outlets we have studied to a degree three different general classes,—the good and moderate hotel or restaurant, where 30 to 35 per cent of the gross income for food and beverage is for liquor; the night club, where 55 to 70 per cent of the same gross income is for liquor; and the taverns and cheaper, or "rubber sandwich," restaurants, where over 90 per cent of the same gross income is for liquor. By and large it appears that the quality of the outlet is in direct proportion to the percentage

of its gross food and drink income which is derived from the sale of alcoholic beverages, and its contribution to the more serious aspects of drunkenness appears to be correspondingly proportionate. Again, it is within the power of the community to express its desires in regard to the quality of the liquor outlets serving it.

We have been impressed with authoritative statements made to us to the effect that there are too few probation officers to do adequate case work with alcoholics. We believe that an adequate supply of such officers is a fundamental requirement in the penological system and should be handled through the proper administrative channels.

It is reported that alcoholism is twice as serious a social problem as other forms of crime among those admitted to the Reformatory for Women. Twenty-five per cent of the population at that institution are alcoholics. Of these, 10 per cent are chronics who need primarily custodial care, but the other 15 per cent are in the earlier stages of alcoholism and may be salvaged. The need is for proper segregation facilities and expert personnel. These conditions may be remedied somewhat through administrative channels.

More and more younger people are being seen at both Tewksbury and at the State Farm as a result of alcoholic overindulgence. To a certain extent their rehabilitation demands the further development of newer, interesting and diversified industrial outlets for training in the institutions, as well as expert personnel.

Existing statutes forbid the sale of liquor to one "who is known to be a drunkard, to an intoxicated person, or to a person who is known to have been intoxicated within the six months last preceding, or to a person known to be supported in whole or in part by public charity" (§ 69, c. 138, G. L.). We have been informed repeatedly that the provisions of this statute are observed very loosely. Perhaps it is not easy at this time for the seller to determine the factors enumerated in this statute while the individual is on the liquor premises. In any event, there should be extreme vigilance in carrying out its intent. Certainly the records

are clear that liquor is sold repeatedly to confirmed alcoholics and recipients of charity.

Existing statutes also forbid, and provide penalties for, the sale of liquor to any one under twenty-one years of age (§ 34, c. 138, G. L.). It is very disconcerting to learn of the increased number of nineteen to twenty-one year old persons admitted as alcoholics to the various correctional and welfare institutions, and to learn that in one court in the metropolitan area, one out of every eight children brought to the court for juvenile delinquencies was under the influence of alcohol when he got into trouble. The same generalities discussed in the paragraph above apply here except that the problem with minors, as a long-range problem, is far more important.

We recommend that existing statutory and administrative machinery be utilized to the fullest extent possible, to the end of improving the social-penological aspects of the drunkenness problem.

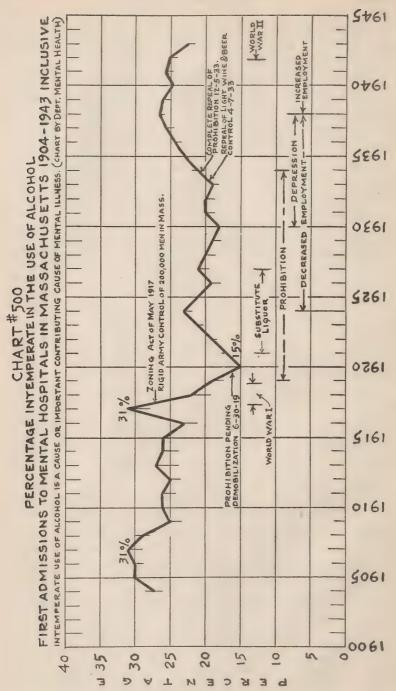
#### IV. INEBRIETY AND MENTAL ILLNESS.

It is probable that hospital records do not disclose completely the volume of mental illness due to alcoholism. The trends for such illnesses for the years surveyed closely follow crime trends for some years. The similarity of trends over the course of so many years, as appears from the charts referred to in the Special Supplement, in the light of similar contemporary factors is strong evidence that the availability of alcohol for beverage purposes is the determining factor of the variations in the flow there observed. Surveys variously estimate from 15 to 50 per cent of all mental disease is due to inebriety. From our survey it appears that the year 1920, the first year of prohibition, shows the lowest volume of first court admissions for the 1917-1942 period. The plain inference is that in the first year of prohibition the volume of consumption of alcoholic beverage was the smallest for the period surveyed, and that this fact resulted in diminution of the flow of human alcoholic derelicts that required mental hospital care. Then the bootleggers became organized and substitute liquor was available. It did not take much of this liquor to start filling the hospitals again.

The surveys referred to in chapter XXIII of the Special Supplement show the relationship of inebriety to mental illness. It is probably safe to say that about 25 per cent of the population in the mental hospitals of our Commonwealth is due to or strongly related to causes growing out of the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages. If the indirect effects were properly evaluated, the percentage would probably be much higher. Chart No. 500 is reproduced here in order to emphasize this point.

The type of alcoholics who make up this particular group in the mental hospitals generally falls into one of the following categories. He may be suffering from delirium tremens, or an acute alcoholic psychosis — due to eating poorly, drinking heavily and vitamin deficiency. Much can be done for the immediate attack. Or he may have other forms of an acute or chronic alcoholic psychosis with impairment of memory, neuritis, hearing of false voices directing his activities, etc. Here the course of care is prolonged. Or he may be a chronic "tippler" with neuritis and vitamin deficiency. Or he may have alcoholic paranoia, with many false beliefs regarding unfaithfulness of his wife, ideas of persecution, etc. This is a dangerous class, almost impenetrable to known treatment, and all too frequently leads to homicide or suicide. Or he may belong to the group of those who have deteriorated both mentally and physically and for which custodial care is all that can be offered.

Frequently alcoholism is the manifestation of some underlying mental illness, and also sometimes a previously existing mental illness first manifests itself while the individual is under the influence of liquor. All of the above factors are considered in the figures going to make up chart 500.



his chart is a duplicate of chart 500 appearing in chapter XVI of the Special Supplement. For detail, see that chapter.

## V. RELATIONSHIP OF INEBRIETY TO FINANCIAL DEPEND-ENCE ON OTHERS.

This field also has been surveyed many times. Here, too, the direct effects are known and have been variously evaluated as being from 25 to 50 per cent of the poverty existing in any community. But likewise here, as in other aspects of the field, the indirect effects of inebriety have not been properly surveyed, and probably do not lend themselves to any accurate figures. We have been informed that twenty-six per cent of the cases handled by the Boston Council of Social Agencies are due to alcoholism. Prior to prohibition the figures ran from 48 to 50 per cent, and the lowest figure was in 1920, when 18 per cent of such cases were due to alcoholism.

It seems unnecessary to go into detail regarding drunkenness and its relationship to substantial financial dependence on others. There is hardly any one who already has not become familiar with the generalities of that aspect, either through the literature or personal knowledge of individual instances, or through solicitation from charitable organizations who have the responsibility of caring for those who are victimized by alcoholic overindulgence. Many cities and towns have complained that they give liberal welfare allowances to recipients who "drink it up." Chapters XXV to XXVI, inclusive, of the Special Supplement elaborate upon the relationship between inebriety and pauperism, and the many sample charts illustrate that relationship. Generally speaking, a period of institutionalization for alcoholics, whether it be jail or hospital (public or otherwise), can be considered a period of substantial financial dependence on others, for both the alcoholic and his family.

### VI. COST OF DRUNKENNESS.

One of the specific requests made of this Commission was that we interest ourselves in the cost of drunkenness in Massachusetts. This we have done. From the information we have been able to obtain it seems that this cost may be represented as follows:

## A. Tangible Costs.

1. The annual cost of caring for those mental patients whose illnesses have been caused or precipitated by	
alcoholism approximates	\$4,000,000
2. The annual cost of crime due to inebriety approxi-	, ,
mates	6,000,000
3. The annual cost of financial dependence on others (or	
charity or whatever name one chooses to call it) due	
to inebriety approximates	51,000,000
Total annual probable cost	\$61,000,000

Parenthetically, it might be pointed out that against this cost figure, the Commonwealth and its cities and towns received \$13,139,266.79 from alcoholic beverage taxation in 1943.

A detailed discussion of this phase may be found in various chapters in the Special Supplement.

### B. Intangible Costs.

The costs enumerated above do not represent any figures for capital outlay for buildings, major replacements, etc.; nor do the general effects of excessive indulgence in liquor, as expressed in terms of broken homes and lives, the conduct of courts in disposing of cases, etc., lend themselves to a definite dollar and cent interpretation. Generally, they may be considered as "intangible costs," although there is nothing very intangible about them in the eyes of those who have to pay the bills, — taxpayers, contributors to community chest funds, etc.

The loss of productive man-hours in industry likewise is tremendous, and its financial loss is comparable. With probably 20,000 chronic alcoholics in Massachusetts, it is not unreasonable to assume that their annual pay-check loss would average \$1,000 per person.

We have tried to make some study of the relationship of inebriety to absenteeism — and its cost to the employee as well as to the employer. In spot-checking a few isolated industries the figures were so variable as to not be conducive to drawing any conclusion. Time and facilities

would not permit us to continue this line of endeavor. We hope that other agencies, particularly the Committee on Alcoholism of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, will continue their studies in this respect.

# VII. A FIVE-WAY PLAN FOR THE FUTURE MEDICAL CARE OF ALCOHOLICS.

From time to time in this report and in the Special Supplement reference has been made to the medical aspects of alcoholism. Repetition at this point seems unnecessary. Medical progress and medical failures in that field have been outlined sufficiently to place them in the proper light for impartial public scrutiny. While much remains to be desired, and the "surface is hardly scratched," the fact remains that medical studies and researches in recent years have settled some of the controversial issues of the past. This does not mean that medicine is going to be able to produce any miracles. We do mean to infer, however, that we believe that more attention should be given to the medical problems concerned with alcoholism than has been the case during the past decade. Nearly every one who has appeared before the Commission has expressed this thought and the hope that it might become an actuality.

We visualize more adequate medical care for alcoholics in the future, as it would follow a five-fold plan. It is not a complicated plan, it involves but few changes in existing organizational structures, and we believe it practical of attainment. It embodies the consideration of alcoholics as falling into the following broad groupings, each of which, for best results, should be segregated from the others:

Group 1. — Acute alcoholics, — occasional drunks, spree drinkers, holiday drinkers, those who get drunk only on "state" occasions, etc.

Group 2. — Early and moderate alcoholics, — that large middle group, between the acute alcoholics and the deteriorating chronic drunks, representing generally those who have not been confirmed alcoholics for more than five years.

*Group 3.* — Chronic deteriorating alcoholics, — representing generally those who have been confirmed drunkards for many years.

Group 4. — Alcoholics of various classes who are nonmental but who have such physical disabilities primarily as a result of excessive liquor (alcoholic neuritis, cirrhosis of the liver, nephritis, injuries, etc.) that they require and willingly seek hospital care.

*Group 5.* — Alcoholics of various classes who, irrespective of any concomitant physical illness, primarily are mentally ill.

Let us consider these groups individually, but not necessarily in order, as they fall into the "five-way plan."

Group 5.— We assume that this group would be cared for as at present, under existing statutes; that is, in the various hospitals for the mentally ill, both public and private, with such expansions in facilities for capital outlay, personnel and research as circumstances dictate from time to time. Present statutes, organizational structure, and administrative powers are broad enough for this aspect to be carried out.

Group 4. — We assume that these patients would be cared for largely as they are at the present time; that is, in the Tewksbury State Hospital or some other similar state hospital for chronic diseases, in the various city hospitals, the non-profit hospitals, etc. However, we look a little farther. Since alcoholism is primarily of state-wide concern, and since a large number of patients treated in many general hospitals are suffering from diseases resulting from overindulgence in alcohol, we envision the day when the State may be in a position to assist these hospitals financially by establishing within them, through mutual consent, chronic clinics and perhaps wards and personnel for the care of some of these patients. In this way the various community chests and other philanthropic agencies might be relieved of part of their present financial loan. Existing statutes and administrative powers are broad enough to accomplish this, but sufficient funds are not available. A means of financing this suggestion in the future is outlined in section VIII of this report.

Group 1. — We believe this acute group can be cared for best in clinics now established or to be established on a

widespread basis throughout the Commonwealth. Preferably they should be located in hospitals - state, municipal, non-profit or private — where active medical care and follow-up could be attained, where research facilities are available, where advantage might be taken of co-ordination with such groups as Alcoholics Anonymous, religious groups, alcoholic educational clinics, social agencies, etc., and where the "flop house" program for treating alcoholics has disappeared. In the Metropolitan Boston area such clinics should become actively affiliated with the various medical schools for such stimulation, advice and research and teaching assistance as they may have to offer. This does not envision necessarily replacing the present penological system with the recommendations which we have made regarding it, but we would hope that the existence of such clinics would offer some incentive to probation officers to refer the "beginners" to them.

In the preventive aspect of this group we visualize the clinics working in conjunction with other organizations whose goal it is to minimize drunkenness and absenteeism in industry.

As in group 4, we hope the day may come when such clinics can function as outlined above, largely at state expense. Existing statutes and administrative powers are broad enough to permit them to function today — but funds are inadequate. Again, as in the comments under group 4, a method of raising funds for this purpose is suggested under section VIII of this report.

Group 3. — This group is largely "water over the dam." It makes up most of the State Farm group, and some of those found in the Tewksbury State Hospital and various other public hospitals or infirmaries. They come and go frequently. Occasionally some real help can be given them, largely through Alcoholics Anonymous or similar groups. By and large their repeated arrests and sojourns in various types of institutions do little for them except to keep them off the street. We can offer no practical suggestion of any consequence for this group except to place them in an institution which provides a protective environment,

gives them good custodial care, is able to meet their medical emergencies from time to time, and provides sufficient industrial and farming or other occupational outlets to minimize their inevitable deterioration, and permits them to be partially self-supporting. We allude to the State Farm, with such improvements and expansions as may be made from time to time.

We have made recommendations in regard to penology which we hope will encourage the courts to send more of this group to the State Farm for long periods of time — for their own good, as well as for the good of society. It would be more ideal if such individuals were sent to the State Farm for longer indeterminate periods, and this Commission has been urged repeatedly to recommend a statute permitting that action (modeled somewhat after the Danish Criminal Code). We are not doing so at this time, pending an appraisal of the results of our other recommendations regarding the penological system, if such are accepted.

Group 2. — This group of early and moderate alcoholics is very important. They are the salvageable ones. Those of this group who have sufficient funds currently are treated in certain private hospitals and by private physicians with a degree of success that warrants our belief that much can be done for them through medical care, that they are salvageable, and that they are worth salvaging. Those without sufficient funds are treated as penological problems. We believe that the State, again, should try an experimental period of at least several years in the hospital care of such persons. They should be segregated in a special hospital, preferably in the country, with outlets for industrial and occupational therapy, under the care of a staff of experts in the medical and ancillary fields, and with adequate laboratory and other research facilities available.

We envision such selected patients going to this future hospital only under proper medical commitments through the courts, to be released only when, in the opinion of the medical authorities, it is proper for them to be released or adequate arrangements have been made for their care elsewhere. We do not propose to go into the detail of such a hospital, because no such hospital is available at the moment. We leave the detail for future outlining by the department having jurisdiction over that hospital, if and when it is established. We simply outline general principles here, which we hope may be followed in the future. However, we do recommend the establishment of such a hospital, either as a new hospital or the conversion of some existing structure. If the Pondville State Hospital were to be abandoned, it might serve adequately, with some structural adjustments, for the purposes which we have in mind. It was built originally to care for the very type of alcoholics which we have commented upon above.

If such a hospital is provided, it would seem necessary that it be under the control of one of the medical departments, and it seems entirely logical that it be placed in the Department of Mental Health (§ 2, c. 123, G. L., Ter. Ed.).

Most of the above comments dealing with groups 2 and 3 obviously are directed towards men—simply because their aggregates are larger than the women. However, the same general comments apply to women alcoholics who fall into those groups. If a new hospital is provided, or if Pondville is made available as suggested above, facilities should be made to take care of a proportionate number of women.

We recommend that full advantage be taken of existing statutory and administrative machinery as commented upon above, just as rapidly as funds and personnel will permit; we further recommend the establishment of a hospital for early and moderate alcoholics as provided for in Appendix D of this report.

## VIII. PERSONAL LICENSE.

# A. Personal Aspects.

At the outset, we agree that the rule that there should be no unreasonable abridgement of personal liberty is sound. It follows, then, that when such abridgements are suggested they should be tested thoroughly by the rule of reason. If one can obtain enjoyment or benefit from the use of alcoholic beverages, without unduly injuring himself, his dependents, his neighbors, and his country, obviously, its use should not be denied him. On the other hand, if the contrary effects result from its use, no one should be heard to complain about his personal liberties being interfered with. This rule is of general application. The freedom to use alcoholic beverages, if unreasonably harmful, should be no exception to the general rule. It is subject to the same tests that other substances for human consumption are subjected to. The fundamental question is, whether or not the unrestrained use of alcohol is harmful to such an extent as to warrant its interdiction, and if so, to what extent should this be done. This question opens up a wide field for study. It has been surveyed from many points of view for centuries. We have reviewed briefly what has been observed in the distant past. The more scientific studies and surveys have taken place in the last century, during which time it has been stated repeatedly that inebriety has been the chief cause of poverty, disease, crime and other social ills. We have been directed to make a study and investigation of all the factors relating to the problem of drunkenness in Massachusetts. We have endeavored to test these generalities to ascertain how much credence could be given them. We have taken the evidence from wherever we could find it, and given it the weight that it seemed to deserve.

Public opinion approves of "moderate" drinking and disapproves of "immoderate" drinking. It recognizes that prevention is far more productive than cures — many of which are questionable. Through the influence of public opinion the State has tried many different methods to prevent immoderate drinking over the years, with some temporary successes and many failures. It has learned that leniency and neglect in the early stages spell defeat in the prevention of addiction. It is at this early stage in a career of drunkenness that alcohol must be kept from the person who abuses its use, or he must be kept away from the alcohol until he is able to control its use properly. This

means either self-imposed restriction or enforced restriction for the intemperate user. There is no other course to follow if drunkenness is to be minimized.

We believe this can be done best by a modified version of the so-called "Bratt Individual Control System," which was put into effect in Sweden in 1914. This system is described by Lawrence Kolb, M.D., formerly Assistant Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 605–618. It has been discussed before this Commission by one who has studied its operation. In essence it is a user's license system, adapted to a country more suburban than Massachusetts.

We believe that by changing the scheme of the Bratt system, so as to fit the conditions of a more urban State, a system of licensing the user or purchaser of alcoholic beverages can be constructed which will better prevent the intemperate from degenerating into the chronic state. Under the system we propose all users of alcoholic beverages must obtain a license so to do. One who is found abusing the privilege of use, to the point of distempering himself, may be brought before the court, and if found guilty, may be deprived of his license, either temporarily or permanently, as the surrounding circumstances may warrant. Upon the issuance of the license, a license fee may be collected, and licenses might be issued for residents of the State or for transients. It would form a control method, or doublecheck, on the reported abuses of sections 34 and 69 of chapter 138 (the Liquor Control Act), in that the unlawful "giver" as well as the intemperate "receiver" can be found and punished more readily. We realize that this recommendation treads on the concept of "personal liberty." It has been well said "that probably every social measure has some undesirable features." If there was any other broad method better suited to the salvaging of the intemperate, without interfering with the liberties of the people, we would not advocate cutting down on the personal liberties of any person. We see no sound reason why all good people should not join in the support of a personal license law. Su h a measure gives full liberty of use to those who respect the duties they owe to themselves and the rest of the community. It can adversely affect only those who are oblivious to the fact that they are living in a civilized society. It recognizes that it is the "abuse" and not the "use" that public opinion desires checked. This thought has been expressed by numerous keen observers of human nature. (See Parran, M.D., Sc.D., Surgeon General of the United States in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 622, 623; Jackson, M. Thomas, Med. Super. of Channing Sanatorium, Quart. Std. J. Alc., Vol. III, 65–78 (1941); Glueck, Bernard W., Med. Dir., Stoney Lodge, Quart. Std. J. Alc., Vol. III, 78–79; Moore, M., M.D., Myerson, Abraham, M.D., and Alexander, Leo, M.D., Dis. Nerv. System, Vol. III, 70, 76 (1942); Hiltner, S. Inform. Serv., N. Y. 21, No. 17 (1942)).

We see no other alternative to curb drunkenness in its broadest aspects on a state-wide basis, except those measures which the State has tried and failed in.

However, we suffer no illusion as to the fact that there are people who have little regard for law and order of any kind. Undoubtedly there are persons, who, for personal gain, or other reasons best known to themselves, would seek to nullify the beneficial effects of the proposed measures if they should be enacted. But this is nothing new, for there always have been, and probably always will be, such people. It was so with "prohibition;" it is so now with "license," and it will be so in the future, no matter what system is evolved. But we are sure that here, as in Sweden, public opinion overwhelmingly is in favor of curbing the intemperate. We believe the personal license system is worthy of a fair trial, for there appears to be much to gain and little to lose in such an effort. We have sufficient faith in the vast majority of our citizens that if the system were put into effect they would see to it that it were made to work properly and would improve it from time to time.

We have pondered over the administrative control of such a system in event it were to become an actuality. Inasmuch as it is designed primarily to affect the individual "user" and benefit the individual "abuser" we feel that it would be confusing if it were to be controlled by agencies having to do with the sale of and outlets for liquor as industrial and business pursuits, and therefore recommend that the operation of such a system be placed under the control of the Department of Mental Health.

## B. Financial Aspects.

There probably are no less than 1,500,000 residents of Massachusetts who consume alcoholic beverages. There is a tremendous number of transient consumers. There probably are no less than 20,000 chronic alcoholics. They cost our citizens some \$61,000,000 annually. It seems proper that those who indulge in the luxury of alcoholic beverages should contribute in a rather direct way to the care of those among them who abuse the privilege of that luxury.

An annual license fee of \$2 would bring a minimum income of \$3,000,000. A temporary license fee to cost an undetermined amount at the moment for non-resident transients of a week or less would bring in an unknown additional amount. It has been estimated by a competent financial authority that the annual income under this system would approach nearer \$10,000,000 than \$3,000,000. We will stay on the ultra-conservative side for the moment.

In any event, the income would be sufficient to run the system; to support and perhaps build the hospital proposed; to support the clinics and other measures which we have recommended; and in the course of time should build up to an amount sufficient to expand services in other agencies and thus relieve some charitable organizations of at least part of their present burdens.

It is our hope that if this system were put into effect, the income derived from it would go into the state treasury to be "ear-marked" for use only in the care, study and research of those suffering from alcoholism or its immediate effects, and to be expended only upon reappropriation within its own limitations by the Legislature.

As we see it, the only practical alternative in the years to come would be some form of compulsory insurance whereby the ravages caused by the excessive use of alcohol

would be compensated or cared for by the liquor industry or liquor interests.

We recommend the enactment of a Personal License Act as described in general above, and as provided for in Appendix E.

## IX. Provision for Continuous Study and Investigation is Desirable.

The study which this Commission has made of the factors relating to alcoholism leads it to the conclusion that there are numerous aspects of this problem which have not been investigated and evaluated adequately. The evidence furnished in the Special Supplement to this report clearly establishes the fact that further scientific research is sorely needed, not only to establish the most acceptable method of dealing with some of the problems related to drunkenness, but also of how best to disseminate the knowledge to those entrusted with the operation of our penological system and the various agencies dealing with segments of a problem which is common to all of them.

In the past, our Legislature has endeavored to keep au current in this field by appointing commissions to study and report their findings to it annually. These commissions have labored faithfully on their arduous assignments: but they have been handicapped by the limitations placed on their time and efforts. We are convinced that only by continuous effort and study of the material which is constantly accumulating in scientific and associated fields, aimed at adding to the common stock of knowledge and understanding now in existence, can the work of our officials and public agencies best be co-ordinated. Only in this manner can our State better keep pace with the progress which science and sociology has made, and is making, and thus attain that wise and effective uniformity of action necessary to the solution of problems relating to inebriety. We venture to say that the cost to society from intemperance is so great that the expense of acquiring the knowledge such a continuous commission could gather and disseminate will be of little account as compared to it.

We recommend the passage of the act as set out in Appendix F, providing for the establishment of a commission for the continuous study and investigation of alcoholism.

#### X. SUMMARY.

In this report we have tried to present our interpretation of some of the major aspects of the problem of drunkenness in Massachusetts, with special emphasis on minimizing drunkenness and treating those suffering from overindulgence. Aimed towards the establishment of desirable goals, we have made several recommendations which we believe should be put into effect.

Some of these recommendations will require legislation and some of them will prove to be costly. To meet these exigencies we have prepared drafts of proposed legislation and have offered a plan by means of which the various recommendations might be financed without "tapping" present sources of state revenue.

In each instance where a recommendation has been made we have limited the comments in the main report to the minimum, which we believe is necessary to assert that we have taken official cognizance of the subject-matter for which the recommendation is made, that there is need for the recommendation, that the recommendation will improve the conditions for which it is made, and in order to show clearly the intent of the Commission in making the recommendation. Additional detail and background may be found in the Special Supplement.

#### APPENDICES.

#### APPENDIX A.

## The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

An Act further regulating the labelling of Beverage alcohol.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

- 1 Section twenty-four of chapter one hundred and
- 2 thirty-eight of the General Laws, as amended, is hereby
- 3 further amended by adding at the end of the first sen-
- 4 tence the words: -, and information as to how to use
- 5 the beverage and the possible effects if used excessively.,
- 6 so as to read as follows: Section 24. The com-
- 7 mission shall, with the approval of the governor and
- 8 council, make regulations not inconsistent with the pro-
- 9 visions of this chapter, for clarifying, carrying out,
- 10 enforcing and preventing violation of, all and any of
- 11 its provisions; for inspection of the premises and method
- 12 of carrying on the business of any licensee; for insuring
- 13 the purity, and penalizing the adulteration, or in any
- 14 way changing the quality or content, of any alcoholic
- 15 beverage; for the proper and orderly conduct of the

16 licensed business; for establishing maximum prices 17 chargeable by licensees under this chapter, and regu-18 lating all advertising of alcoholic beverages; and shall, 19 with like approval, make regulations, not inconsistent 20 with federal laws and regulations, governing the labelling 21 of packages of alcoholic beverages as to their ingredients 22 and the respective quantities thereof, and information 23 as to how to use the beverage and the possible effects 24 if used excessively. Every such regulation, when so 25 approved, shall be printed in full in one issue of some 26 newspaper of general circulation published on the same 27 day in each of the cities of Boston, New Bedford, Lowell, 28 Worcester, Springfield and Pittsfield, and copies of such 29 regulations shall be furnished to each licensee. Four-30 teen days from and after the date of such publication, 31 any such regulation made and approved as aforesaid 32 shall have the force and effect of law unless and until 33 amended or annulled by the commission, with the ap-34 proval of the governor and council.

The commission shall, at least annually on or before 36 December thirty-first of each year, publish in a con-37 venient pamphlet form all regulations then in force; and 38 shall furnish copies of such pamphlets to every licensee 39 authorized under the provisions of this chapter to sell 40 alcoholic beverages.



### APPENDIX B.

## The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

An Act relative to the release of persons arrested for drunkenness.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

- 1 Section forty-five of chapter two hundred and seventy-
- 2 two of the General Laws is hereby amended by striking
- 3 out the words "four times" in the ninth and forty-first
- 4 lines thereof so that the same shall read: Section 45.
- 5 Whoever arrests a person for drunkenness shall make a
- 6 complaint against him therefor, at the next session of
- 7 the court or of the trial justice having jurisdiction of
- 8 the case; and such court or trial justice may proceed to
- 9 hear and to dispose of the same according to due course
- 10 of law; and may, if the accused has been released under
- 11 this section, order the issuance of a warrant for the
- 12 arrest, or a summons for the appearance, of the accused
- 13 for trial, or if the court is satisfied by the report of its
- 14 probation officer, or otherwise, or if the trial justice is
- 15 satisfied upon inquiry that the accused has not before
- 16 been arrested for drunkenness within a year, and that
- 17 his written statement hereinafter mentioned is true, the
- 18 court or trial justice may thereupon direct that the

19 accused, if still in custody, be released without arraign-20 ment; and if not in custody, that further proceedings in 21 the case be suspended or that the complaint be dis-22 missed.

A person so arrested may, after he has recovered from 24 his intoxication, make a written statement, addressed 25 to the court or trial justice having jurisdiction of his 26 offence, giving his name and address, setting forth what 27 persons, if any, are dependent upon him for support, 28 his place of employment, if any, and whether he has 29 been arrested for drunkenness within the twelve months 30 next preceding, and requesting to be released from 31 custody; and may deliver said statement to the officer 32 in charge of the place in which he is confined, who shall 33 endorse thereon the name of the arresting officer, and 34 if the arrest is made within the jurisdiction of a trial 35 justice, his opinion of the probable truth of said state-36 ment for the use of said trial justice, and shall transmit 37 the same to such trial justice, and if the arrest is made 38 within the jurisdiction of a court having a probation 39 officer, the officer in charge of the place in which he is 40 confined shall transmit such statement to said proba-41 tion officer. Said probation officer, or his assistants, 42 shall forthwith inquire into the truth thereof and shall 43 investigate the record of said person as to previous 44 similar offences, and, for the use of the court having 45 jurisdiction of the case, shall endorse on such statement, 46 with his signature, the result of his investigation.

The officer for the time being in charge of the place 48 of custody in a town where no probation officer resides 49 forthwith may release, and elsewhere the probation 50 officer or assistant probation officer of the court having 51 jurisdiction of the offence may direct the officer in charge 52 of the place of custody forthwith to release, and such

- 53 officer so in charge shall thereupon release, such arrested
- 54 person pursuant to his request; provided, that the
- 55 officer so releasing or directing the release believes that
- 56 the person arrested has given his true name and address,
- 57 that he will appear upon a summons, and that he has
- 58 not before been arrested for drunkenness within the
- 59 preceding twelve months.

## APPENDIX C.

## The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

AN ACT FORBIDDING THE ENTRY OF A NOLLE PROSECUI OR A CONTINUANCE IN DRUNKENNESS APPEALED CASES, EX-CEPT WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF A JUSTICE OF THE SUPERIOR COURT.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

- In any case appealed to the superior court by a per-
- 2 son charged with drunkenness, neither a district attor-
- 3 ney nor any of his assistants shall enter a nolle prosequi,
- 4 or grant a continuance, before or after verdict, except
- 5 where the purposes of justice require it, and then only
- 6 with the concurrence in writing of a justice of the supe-
- 7 rior court.

### APPENDIX D.

# The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

An Act providing for the establishment of a hospital for the treatment and study of persons who have degenerated in health through the excessive use of intoxicating liquors.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

- 1 Section 1. As soon as funds become available the
- 2 department of mental health, subject to the approval
- 3 of the governor and council, shall select and acquire a
- 4 site by purchase or by transfer of control, with or with-
- 5 out buildings thereon, for a state hospital for the treat-
- 6 ment and study of persons who have degenerated in
- 7 health through the excessive use of intoxicating liquors.
- 8 The said department of mental health, subject to the
- 9 approval of the governor and council, may expend from
- 10 any appropriation made for the purpose, such sums as
- 11 shall be necessary for the construction or remodelling
- 12 of a hospital for the purposes above stated, and for all
- 13 services and equipment incident to the proper function-
- 14 ing and maintenance thereof.

- 1 Section 2. All sections of chapter one hundred and
- 2 twenty-three, General Laws, referring to the powers and
- 3 duties of the department of mental health pertinent to
- 4 state institutions under its jurisdiction shall also be
- 5 applicable to the services opened and operated under
- 6 section one of this chapter.

56

### APPENDIX E.

# The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

AN ACT REGULATING THE USE OF INTOXICATING BEVERAGES OR LIQUOR BY LICENSING THE USE THEREOF.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

- 1 Section 1. No person shall have on his person or
- 2 use intoxicating beverage or liquor, unless he is first
- 3 licensed so to do by the department of mental health,
- 4 according to the provisions of this chapter.
- 1 Section 2. No person shall loan, give or sell to an-
- 2 other intoxicating beverage or liquor, unless such per-
- 3 son is licensed to use such beverages or liquor, according
- 4 to the provisions of this chapter.
- 1 Section 3. Upon the application of any person en-
- 2 titled to receive a license to use intoxicating beverages
- 3 or liquor, and upon the payment of a fee of two dollars
- 4 therefor, and the furnishing of an affidavit that the
- 5 applicant has not been guilty of drunkenness within a
- 6 period of three months of the date on which said appli-
- 7 cation is made, and is not then prohibited from having
- 8 or receiving a license by reason of having had his license

9 suspended or revoked by authority of law, the clerk of a 10 city or town, or such agencies as the department of 11 mental health may establish, shall issue to such person 12 a license to use intoxicating beverages or liquor in the 13 form prescribed upon a blank furnished by the depart-14 ment of mental health of said commonwealth. The 15 license shall authorize the licensee to use intoxicating 16 beverages subject to existing laws; provided, that 17 such a license shall not be issued to a minor, or spend-18 thrift, or a recipient of public aid, or one who has been 19 convicted of drunkenness within a period of three 20 months of the date of said application; or has been 21 committed three times or more to a penal institution 22 because of drunkenness, or has been committed to an 23 institution for the insane because of alcoholic psychosis; 24 or has been found by the department of mental health 25 to be one who is deporting himself in violation of the 26 provisions of section six of this chapter.

Each license issued hereunder shall bear, in addition 28 to any other data, the name, place of residence, signa-29 ture and identifying description, and in the case of a 30 male person, the age of the licensee, a statement that 31 the holder has not been convicted of a violation of this 32 chapter, or any provision thereof, within three months 33 of the date of said license, and each applicant shall fur-34 nish such information to the city or town clerk or such 35 other agencies as above mentioned issuing such license.

36 Each license shall be valid for use to and including 37 the following December thirty-first. No person holding 38 a license to use intoxicating beverages or liquors shall 39 transfer or loan such license, and any holder thereof 40 shall, while using or carrying intoxicating beverages or 41 liquors, carry upon his person his license and shall pro-42 duce it for examination upon the demand of any con-

43 stable, police officer or other officer qualified to serve
44 criminal process, or upon the demand of any person
45 from whom the licensee requests intoxicating beverage
46 or liquor. Whoever, upon such demand by any con47 stable or police officer or other officer qualified to serve
48 criminal process, fails or refuses to produce a license, or
49 whoever, for the purpose of procuring a license, falsely
50 makes any representation or statement required by this
51 section, shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten
52 or more than fifty dollars, or by imprisonment of not
53 more than three months, in the common jail, house of
54 correction, or the state farm, and in addition thereto, the
55 license of such a person, if he is the holder of one, shall
56 be suspended for the period of three months from the
57 date of his conviction for the said violation.

- 1 Section 3A. The department of mental health may 2 issue licenses to transient non-residents on such terms 3 and conditions as it, in its discretion, deems proper.
- 1 Section 4. The said fees paid for the license in 2 accordance with the provisions of sections three and 3 three A of this chapter, shall be paid over to the treas-4 urer of the commonwealth under such system and rules 5 and regulations as the department of mental health may 6 prescribe. The state treasurer shall place the same in 7 a special fund to be used for the purposes hereinafter 8 provided.
- 1 Section 5. No person shall use or suffer any person 2 to drink intoxicating beverage or liquor to drunkenness, 3 nor suffer any minor to have or use intoxicating beverage 4 in any quantity.
- 1 Section 6. No person shall trust or give credit to 2 any person for intoxicating beverage or liquor to be

- 3 used by him, or his family or dependents, or in treating
- 4 others. Any person so doing shall lose and forfeit all
- 5 sums so trusted or credited, in addition to suffering the
- 6 penalties provided in section eight of this chapter.
- SECTION 7. No person shall, by excessive drinking
- 2 of intoxicating beverage or liquor, so misspend, waste
- 3 or lessen his estate as thereby either to expose himself,
- 4 or his family or his dependents, to want or indigent
- 5 circumstances, or the town or the municipality to which
- 6 he belongs, or the commonwealth to expense for the
- 7 maintainance of him, or his family or his dependents;
- 8 nor shall any person so habitually indulge himself in the
- 9 use of intoxicating beverage or liquor as thereby to
- 10 injure his health or endanger the loss thereof. Drunk-
- 11 enness by the use of intoxicating beverages shall be
- 12 prima-facie evidence of the violation of the provisions
- 13 of this section.
  - Section 8. Any person violating the provisions of
  - 2 sections one, two, five, six, and seven of this chapter
  - 3 may be imprisoned in the common jail, or house of
  - 4 correction, or the state farm for a period of not more
  - 5 than one year, or fined not more than one hundred
  - 6 dollars, and in addition thereto may have his license to
  - 7 use or sell intoxicating liquor, if he is the holder of one,
  - 8 suspended or revoked for such a period as the judge
  - 9 who imposes any of the above penalties shall order.
  - No case in court for the violation of the 1 SECTION 9.
  - 2 provision of this chapter shall be placed on file or disposed
  - 3 of except by trial, judgment, acquittal or sentence, as
  - 4 the case may be, according to the regular course of pro-
  - 5 ceedings in criminal cases, unless in any case the pur-
  - 6 poses of justice require other disposition thereof, to be

- 7 shown upon a written motion, setting forth specifically
- 8 the reasons therefor, and verified by affidavit where
- 9 facts are relied on; and in such case the motion shall be
- 10 allowed only upon the certificate of the presiding magis-
- 11 trate or judge, that he is satisfied that the cause relied
- 12 on exists, and that the interests of public justice requires
- 13 the allowance thereof, which certificate shall be filed
- 14 in the case. Nothing in this section shall be construed
- 15 to affect in any way the course of proceedings where
- 16 exceptions are pending.
  - 1 Section 10. The department of mental health may
  - 2 expend such sums from the fund established by section
  - 3 four of this act as may be hereinafter appropriated by
  - 4 the legislature for the purpose of carrying out the pro-
  - 5 visions of this act and for the operation and main-
  - 6 tenance of such other services as the department may
  - 7 establish for the treatment and study of alcoholism.
  - 1 Section 11 Persons appearing in the uniform of
  - 2 the military service of this country during the present
  - 3 World War II, and for a period of six months after
  - 4 hostilities shall have been deemed to cease, shall be
  - 5 exempt from the provisions of this chapter.

### APPENDIX F.

# The Commonwealth of Wassachusetts

In the Year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Forty-Five.

An Act providing for the establishment of a commission to make continuous study and investigation of all factors relating to the problem of drunkenness in massachusetts.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

1 Section 1. There shall be a commission for the

2 continuous study and investigation of the problem of

3 drunkenness and all other matters related thereto. The

4 said commission shall be composed of the chief justice

5 of the supreme judicial court, or some other justice or

6 former justice of that court, appointed from time to

7 time by him; the chief justice of the superior court

8 or some other justice or former justice of that court

9 appointed from time to time by him; the chief justice

10 of the municipal court of the city of Boston, or some other

11 justice or former justice of that court or any other

12 district court appointed from time to time by him; the

13 commissioner of mental health, or some other member

14 or former member of the department of mental health,

15 appointed from time to time by him; the commissioner

16 of public health or some other member or former member

17 of the department of public health, appointed from time

18 to time by him; the commissioner of education, or some 19 other member or former member of the department of 20 education, appointed from time to time by him; the 21 commissioner of correction, or some other member or 22 former member of the department of correction, ap-23 pointed from time to time by him; the commissioner of 24 probation, or some other member or former member of 25 the board of probation, appointed from time to time by 26 him; the commissioner of public welfare, or some other 27 member or former member of the department of public 28 welfare, appointed from time to time by him; the chair-29 man of the state parole board, or some other member 30 or former member of the state parole board, appointed 31 from time to time by him; the president of the Massa-32 chusetts medical association or some other member of 33 said association appointed from time to time by him; 34 the president of the Massachusetts hospital association 35 or some other member of said association appointed 36 from time to time by him; one judge of probate court 37 in the commonwealth and not more than four other 38 persons, two of whom shall be members of the bar, all 39 to be appointed by the governor, with the advice and 40 consent of the executive council. The appointments by 41 the governor shall be for such periods, not exceeding 42 four years, as he shall determine.

- 1 Section 2. The said commission may hold hearings, 2 shall be provided with quarters in the state house or 3 elsewhere, and shall have access to the records and files 4 of the various boards and departments of the common-5 wealth for the purposes above stated.
- 1 Section 3. The commission shall report annually, 2 to the general court its findings and recommendations,
- 3 if any, together with drafts of legislation necessary to

4 carry such recommendations into effect, by filing the 5 same with the clerk of the house of representatives on or 6 before the first Wednesday in December of each year, 7 and at the same time shall file a copy thereof with the 8 governor.

Section 4. No member of said commission, except 2 as hereinafter provided, shall receive any compensation 3 for his services, but said commission and the several 4 members thereof shall be allowed from the state treasury, 5 out of any appropriation made for the purpose, such 6 expenses for clerical and other services, travel and 7 incidentals as the governor and council shall approve. 8 The secretary of said commission, whether or not a 9 member thereof, shall receive from the commonwealth 10 an annual salary to be established by the commission 11 but not to exceed thirty-five hundred dollars. Persons 12 employed by the commission shall be exempt from the 13 provisions of chapter thirty-one, except that if a person 14 is under civil service at the time of his employment by 15 the commission he shall continue under the provisions of 16 chapter thirty-one.

Apr.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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#### KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN PERSONAL CHARTS.

The Roman numerals at the top of the chart represent the months of the year surveyed.

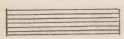
The dates at the side of the chart designate the years surveyed.

Each space underneath the Roman numerals represents a month of the year.

The shaded areas in the chart represent the period of time the party was in prison, or infirmary, or hospital, as the case may be.



denotes hospital or infirmary.



denotes correctional institution.

R	denotes releas	e without	arraignment	${\rm in}$	court	by	a	pro-
	bation office	r or justic	e.					

A figure in shaded area, such as 10, for example, means the party was committed for the number of days there designated.

Par. denotes the party was paroled.

D. denotes a default was entered.

R. P. O. means release by the probation officer.

P. denotes that a defendant was placed on probation.

F. means that the case was filed by a justice of the court.

A numeral preceding the letter M over the letters S S means that the defendant was sentenced to the number of months represented by the numerals in the jail or house of correction, and that the sentence was suspended and the defendant in the meantime was placed on probation.

2 M denotes that a two months' sentence was appealed to the Superior Court.

S F denotes that a State Farm sentence was appealed to the Superior Court.

 $\frac{N}{P}$  means that a nolle prosequi was entered.

S. Ct.

or denotes Superior Court.

S. C.

N. G. means a not guilty finding was entered.

S. F. S S

means a State Farm suspended sentence was imposed.

Ret. S. F. means the party was returned to the State Farm for violation of the conditions of the parole.

R. M. means Massachusetts Reformatory (for men).

H. C.

means House of Correction.

H. G. S. means House of Good Shepherd. S. F. means State Farm.

C. J.

means Common Jail.

L. I. H.

means Long Island Hospital.

B. C. H.

means Boston City Hospital.

St. Inf.

means Tewksbury State Hospital.

Togus means United States Hospital, at Togus, Maine. Worc. St. H. means Worcester State Hospital.

Psyc. Hosp.

•

means Psychopathic Hospital, Boston.

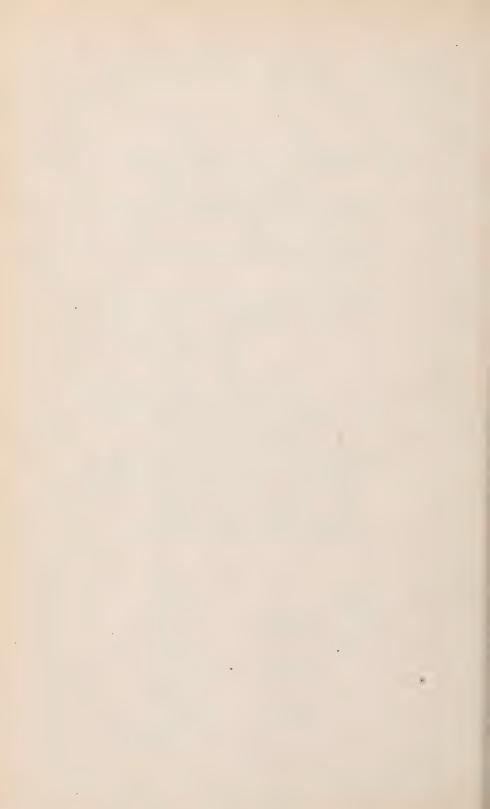
A numeral with a dollar sign before it, within a rectangle; for example, \$5 means that a fine of the amount indicated by the numeral was imposed.

A vertical line within the rectangle indicating the month denotes one day spent at a hospital or infirmary.

Shaded rectangles within the month indicated denote the approximate period the person was institutionalized in that month.

R. W. means Massachusetts Reformatory for Women.

W. H. means Washingtonian Hospital.



#### SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT.

#### Chapter I.

EARLY HISTORY OF ALCOHOLIC FIELDS DISCUSSED.

For more than 4,000 years, at least, mankind has been making observations relative to the causes and effects of the ingestion of alcohol by its members. The underlying motives and objectives have been discussed times without number. From the very dawn of civilization the use of alcoholic beverage has been, in turn, praised and damned. As one views its history, whether it be its ancient or modern aspects, he will find periods in which alcohol, in turn, was considered a blessing by some, but a blight to human health and progress by others. A broad survey of the history relating to the operative fields concerned with the manufacture. distribution and use of alcoholic beverages discloses that a continual warfare has been going on between certain classes of the population of civilized countries in all ages, with victory or defeat going in cycles to each of the classes involved. In the early history of mankind the struggle centered chiefly between those who did not believe in an "hereafter", and therefore felt that man's objective was the attainment of such pleasures as largely came from conquest, and indulgence in practices related to "wine, women and song," while a more enlightened class thought otherwise, and recognized the danger to human life by the intemperate practices above referred to. The old Latin expression uttered before the Christian era, "Nulla in parte mundi cessat ebrietas," — liberally translated, meaning "drunkenness reigns the world over," and other writings by ancient philosophers, is eloquent evidence of the fact that long before the Christian era drunkenness was one of the chief vices indulged in by the people of all nations.

Its benefits and its shortcomings have been written about and debated times without limit in legislative and religious halls and other places where people assembled. The literature of the world on this subject is full of repetition. What has been said in recent years by many is substantially similar to what the ancients and others have repeated many times. A reference to some of these trite statements pro and con may serve a useful purpose.

First, let us note how those in favor of the use of alcoholic beverage expressed themselves about it:

Seneca — "The soul must not be always bent; one must sometimes allow it a little pleasure."

Cato, as he expressed it, "Enjoyed himself in drinking when his mind had been too much wearied in public affairs."

Scipio said he "knew how to move the body with more than womanly pleasures — one must allow the mind some recreation; it makes it more gay and peaceful — sometimes one must go even as far as to get drunk; not, indeed, with an intention to drown ourselves in wine, but to drown our cares, for wine drives away sorrow and care, and goes and fetches them up from the bottom of the soul; and as drunkenness cures distempers, so, in like manner, it is a sovereign remedy for sorrows."

Catullus, Cecilius, Narro, Anacreon, we are told, all proclaimed that "To live signified to make merry; to give one's self up to all kinds of pleasures, making good cheer, etc."

Ovid pointed out that the two principal qualities of wine "consist in driving away care and sorrow and exciting mirth and joy."

Plutarch assured us that "wine collects and increases the power of the mind." A common proverb of the time was, "Vinum acuit ingenium," meaning "Wine sets an edge to wit."

Plato maintained that "wine warms as well the mind as the body." He could never open the gates of poesy 'til he was "a little beyond himself."

Hoffman said, "Experience proves that those who produce good wine, produce also people that have infinitely more wit than those of the north, who drink nothing but beer."

Bayle said, "There never were any excellent poets that could versify til after drinking pretty plentifully."

Horace goes yet further; "Poor water-drinkers sing an irksome tune; short lived their numbers, and their airs jejune."

Eschylus, Anacreon, Aurelius and Herodes all claimed they wrote and talked best "after drinking pretty plentifully."

Alcaneus, the famous poet, "Never sat down to compose tragedy til he was tipsy."

It was early stated that "Wine acquires friends and reconciles enemies."

Cleomedes said, "Take away the pleasures of the table, where we open ourselves so agreeably to each other, and you rob us of the sweetest cordial of human life."

Cicero, in his book, "Old Age," expresses the same sentiment.

Aristotle, in his Ethics, and Plutarch, in his Questions, each express the same idea.

Long years ago it was observed that "Daily experience teaches us that one of the best means to push one's fortune is often to regale with those who are in credit, for, to one that may have ruined himself by so doing, ten have made their fortunes." We may therefore say of entertainments where wine flowed freely, that these unite friends and strictly keep them so.

M. Crassus reconciled himself to Cicero at a feast where all got drunk.

Asurubal and Scipio did the same on like occasion.

Hippocrates, "the Prince of Physicians," prescribes getting drunk once a month as a thing very necessary for the conservation of health. (Mad. Desboul T. Q. Ep. p. 104; Ebrietatis Econiums, 1723, ch. III.)

Avicenna and Razis, most excellent physicians of Arabia, said, "It is a thing very salutary and wholesome to get drunk sometimes."

Dioscorides said that "drunkenness was not always hurtful, but that very often it is necessary for the conservation of health."

Homer said that "Nestor, who lived long, toss'd off huge bocals of wine."

Divines believe that "There was no manner of harm in getting drunk, when it was done for health sake and not for pleasure."

Pére Taverne, a Jesuit (Synogres Theolog. pract.), used these words: "Drunkenness is a mortal sin if one falls into it for pleasure only; but if one gets drunk for any honest end, as, for example, by direction of one's physician in order to recover health, there is no manner of harm in it at all."

We could cite at considerable length the names of kings, emperors, Popes, churchmen, and other personages well known in history who entertained views similar to those which have been quoted above, but it will serve no useful purpose to do so. It abundantly appears that in those so-called "good old days" alcohol was considered a medicine which was a cure-all by many physicians and laymen alike, and therefore was generally used as such. It must be noted, however, that the average life span in ancient times, when life's objective was song, women and wine, was about twenty-five years. Medicine was then in its infancy and thus remained for many centuries thereafter. Their deductions were largely, if not wholly, based upon circumstantial evidence; their treatment was that of "trial and error." It

therefore is not surprising to find that their conclusions were far from what science now proves to be the truth.

However, there also were leaders of their time who were keen observers of what beverage alcohol did to its users, and whose observations were more in line with what science has since established to be facts about the effects of beverage alcohol upon the human race.

That drinking became habitual was known as long ago as the time of Parthiaus; "It is also reported of the Parthians that the more they drink the more thirsty they grow." (Erasm. Adag.)

The Bible tells us that as far back as 1451 B.C. common drunkenness was punishable by stoning to death at the hands of "all the men in his city." (Deut. 21:20, 21.)

In early times abstinence was enforced by both religious edict and civil law. (Voyage T. 3, Let 5 in Du Mont; see Ebrietatis Econium, 1723, c. 17.)

"The Persians were forbidden by law to drink wine." (Taverniers, Trav. 1, Lib. 5, Cap. 26.)

Gerson said that "There was no difference between a man's killing himself at one stroke, or to procure death by several, in getting drunk." (See Ebrietatis Econium, c. XXV.)

St. Augustine stated that to make another drunk was more heinous than an assassination, for he maintained "That those who made one drunk did him greater injury than if he had given him a stab with a dagger." (Rep. des. Lett. Janv. 1687, Art. 1; Ebrietatis Econium, c. XXV.)

Mohamet enjoined his followers "Not to drink wine — on account of the bad effects it produced." (T. 3, Let 5.)

"It is one of the chief commandments among the Siamese to drink no wine, or any liquor that will procure drunkenness." (Chaumont Voyage de Siam; Ebrietatis Econium, c. XXV.)

Among the Locrians, Selencus had such an aversion to wine "That he forbad anyone to drink it under pain of death, or even give it to the sick." (Aelian, Lib. 2, c. 33.)

"The Severeians, Disciples of Severus, in the time of Pope Sotherns, condemned absolutely wine as a creature of the Devil." (Du Mont Voyage, T. 3, Let 5; Ebrietatis Econium, c. XXV.)

Pittacus, one of the wise men of Greece, commanded that "He who committed a fault when he was drunk should suffer double the punishment."

"Among the laws of Solon there was one which condemned to death the Chief magistrate if he got drunk." (Chevriana, T. 1, p. 217; Ebrietatis Econium, c. XXV.)

Patin said that spirits and strong water "are sugar'd poisons which surely kill. They give life to those who sell them and death to those who use them." (Vign Marvill, T. 2, p. 7.)

Mohamet III published an edict to prohibit entirely the use of wine under penalty of death. In it he spoke of wine "as a liquor infernal, invented by the devil to destroy the souls of men, to disturb their reason, and to put the States into combustion."

The Persians and Lacedemonians had laws which forbade any one "to force another to drink." Charlemagne also made a similar law, saying, "It is very ridiculus and unreasonable to force any one to drink, because, . . . every man's capacity for drinking is not the same; one shall be able to drink a gallon and another a pint; the latter therefore in drinking a pint has drunk as much as the former in taking off his gallon because they both have drunk as they can."

Seneca distinguished two sorts of drunkenness, — "One which entirely buries our reason; and the other which only diverts melancholly and chagrin — the last we believe to be very lawful."

The Bible tells us, "Be not among the winebibbers" (Prov. 23:20), "for the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty; and drowsiness shall clothe a man with rags." (Prov. 23:21.)

They apparently knew that morning drinking was a danger symptom. "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink; that continue until night till wine inflame them!" (Isaiah 5:11; 760 B.C.)

They also knew that drunkenness injuriously affected all classes.

"Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink!" (Isaiah 5:22.)

"Woe to the crown of pride, to the drunkards of Ephraim, whose glorious beauty is a fading flower which are on the head of the fat valleys of them that are overcome with wine!" (Isaiah 28:1.)

"But they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way; the priest and the prophet have erred through strong drink, they are swallowed up of wine, they are out of the way through strong drink; they err in vision, they stumble in judgment. For all tables are full of vomit and filthiness, so that there is no place clean." (Isaiah 28:7, 8.)

How they had prohibition in 800 B.C., as shown by the Bible, and how the "drys" rejoiced:

"That which the palmerworm hath left hath the locust eaten; that which the locust hath left hath the cankerworm eaten; and that which the cankerworm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten.

Awake, ye drunkards, and weep and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, because of the new wine; for it is cut off from your mouth." (Joel 1:4, 5.)

They also knew that drunkenness was associated with other vices.

"Let us walk honestly as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness; not in chambering and wantoness; not in strife and envying." (Romans 13:13.)

The Bible, at least by inference, tells us that women got drunk by wine and strong drink in 1171 B.C. When Elisaid wrongly accused Hannah of being drunk she answered and said, "No, my Lord, I am a woman of a sorrowful spirit; I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but have poured my soul before the Lord." (I Samuel 1:15.)

Wise men, so called, in 1035 B.C. also got drunk and forgot they were married.

"And when David called him (Uriah) he did eat and drink before him; and he made him drunk; and at even he went out to lie on his bed with the servants of his lord, but went not down to his house." (II Samuel 11:13.)

Even kings forgot, when drunk, in 901 B.C. that they were on the eve of battle.

"And they (his army) went out at noon. But Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions, he and the kings, the thirty and two kings that helped him." (I Kings 20:16.)

The Bible tells us that Noah while drunk in 2348 B.C. was guilty of indecent exposure.

"And Noah began to be an husbandman and planted a vineyard." (Genesis 9:21.) "And he drank of the vine and was drunken; and he was uncovered within his tent." (Genesis 9:22.) "And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brothers without . . . and they walked backward so as not to see him and covered the nakedness of their father." (Genesis 9:23.)

It appears that incest and debauchery is nothing new to drunken persons. What drunkenness will cause a man to do sexually is well illustrated by what happened to Lot and his two daughters in 1898 B.C. (Genesis 19:32, 33, 34, 35, 36.)

That kings got drunk and were thus murdered as early as 951 B.C. is evidenced by the Bible. (I Kings 16:9, 10.)

That intemperate drinking caused debility and sickness and sleepiness to many was known to the ancients, as is evidenced by the statement in A.D. 59 (I Corinthians 11:29, 30): "For he that

eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and may sleep." (Romans 14:21.) "It is good neither to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth or is made weak."

That temperance was a virtue was known and taught as far back as 977 B.C., as is testified by this statement: "Blessed art thou O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, and thy princes eat in due season, for strength and not for drunkenness. By much slothfulness the building decayeth; and through idleness of the hands the house droppeth through." (Ecclesiastes 10:17, 18.)

That drunkenness was associated with lewdness and desolation and sorrow was also well known to the Ancients, as to which see Ezekiel 23, especially 23:33, where it is stated, "Thou shalt be filled with drunkenness and sorrow, with the cup of astonishment and desolation, with the cup of thy sister Samaria" (a lewd libertine).

That the Ancients recognized the necessity of having sober priests is evidenced by the fact that as far back as 1490 B.C. they were forbidden wine when they entered the Tabernacle (on pain of death). (Leviticus 10:8, 10.) "And the Lord spake unto Aaron saying, "Do not drink wine nor strong drink, though, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die."

Being a "dry" is nothing new, for as far back as 1490 B.C. it is found that the law of the Nazarite in his separation was a pledge or a vow to be an abstainer, as is evidenced by the following: (2) "And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them, When either man or woman shall separate themselves to vow a vow of a Nazarite, to separate themselves unto the Lord: (3) He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink, and shall drink no vinegar of wine, or vinegar of strong drink, neither shall he drink any liquor of grapes, nor eat moist grapes, or dried. (4) All the days of his separation shall he eat nothing that is made of the vine tree, from the kernels even of the husk." (Numbers 6:2, 3, 4.)

That abstinence is desirable in womankind and is more conducive to the attainment of their heart's desire was known as far back as 1143 B.C. (Judges 13:4, 14; St. Luke 1:7, 13, 15.)

Lemuel's lesson of chastity and temperance in 700 B.C. tells us that they then recognized some of the important deleterious effects of intemperance. The inferences to be drawn from the following advice then given are very significant. (3) "Give not

thy strength unto woman, nor thy ways to that which destroyeth kings." (4) "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine; nor for princes strong drink." (5) "Lest they drink and forget the law and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted." (6) "Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be heavy of hearts." (7) "Let him drink, and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more." (Proverbs 31:3, 4, 5, 6, 7.)

It is apparent from Paul's advice to Timothy that he believed that wine was a medicine for a sick stomach and his "often infirmaties." "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine, for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities." (Timothy 5:23; 65 A.D.) But it is also apparent from his advice to Titus in 65 A.D. that he believed in temperance and that a bishop "must be blameless," "not given to wine" — "but a lover of hospitality, a lover of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate." (Titus 1:7, 8.)

See Titus 2:2, 3, 4, 6, where Paul directed Titus "to speak thou the things which become sound doctrine (2) that the aged men be sober, grave, temperate; teach (3) the aged women, likewise, that they be not given to much wine; (4) that they may teach young women to be sober; and (6) young men likewise exhort to be sober minded."

One thousand years before Christ it was known that "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise." (Proverbs 20:1.)

The concept that the ingestion of alcohol is conducive to sex gratification is not anything new. As far back as 626 B.C. it was a Biblical offence to give drink to a person to get him drunk for any purpose; especially so to accomplish sexual gratification or intercourse. Note the following: "Woe unto him that giveth his neighbor drink, that puttest thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken also, that thou may look on their nakedness." (16) "Thou art filled more with shame than with glory; drink thou also, and let thy foreskin be uncovered — the cup of the Lord's right hand shall be turned unto thee, and shameful spewing shall be on thy glory." (Habakkůk 2:15, 16.)

The children of Israel have known the benefits of abstension from a law requiring it which existed in 1451 B.C. This may be a clue as to why we see so little drunkenness among them in the present era. (Deuteronomy 29:6.) Also see Jeremiah 35:5, 6. Here, too, were fervent "drys."

It is also apparent that they knew in 487 B.C. that "corn shall

make the young man cheerful, and new wine the maids." (Zachariah 9:17.)

Here is evidence it was grain alcohol made out of corn that probably was the "strong drink" that was taken in ancient days. This is not consistent with the oft-stated concept that it was the Indians who first introduced corn to the white man from which whiskey was first distilled.

We could continue citations at considerable length showing how other classes and persons in many nations regarded the use of alcoholic beverages. We could show how, in the past, at times, its use under the sanction of civil and spiritual authority, in the light of present standards, was little short of scandalous. The history of its connection with prostitution has been recorded at length by careful investigators. It would serve no useful purpose at this time to further set forth this history, though we may profitably refer to parts of it later. If any one is interested in a further exploration of the points of view of other nations and peoples of primitive standing, an article entitled "Primitive Intoxicants," by Edwin M. Loeb (1943), in 4 Quarterly Journal Of Studies on Alcohol, page 387, will give interesting information. A survey of the connection between intoxicating liquors and prostitution, entitled "History of Prostitution," by W. W. Sanger, M.D., adequately shows their close relationship to any one desiring further light on the subject.

## Chapter II.

Comments on Pre-Colonial History relating to Alcoholic Beverages.

We have set out Biblical observations at considerable length because many of the penological measures relating to drunkenness put into operation, at home and abroad, in the early history of our country, grew out of Biblical concepts. Perhaps no useful purpose would be achieved by setting out a detailed discussion of the debates which took place abroad respecting the use and sale of intoxicants prior to the time of the colonial life of our Commonwealth. Suffice to point out, in the language of the time. that in the United Kingdom "various Temperance associations and Orders through out the country, urged upon the people with a persistency almost unparalleled, the wisdom and necessity of totally prohibiting the common sale of alcohol in all its forms, while on the other hand the distillers, brewers, maltsters, wine and spirit merchants and licensed victuallers, pocketing any little jealousies previously existing amongst themselves, entered into a solemn political compact for the defence of the united drink interest against the attacks of the 'temperance parties,' and for the repeal of . . . clauses of . . . licensing acts . . . which pressed heavily upon them." As a result of all this, "the politician was perplexed with . . . what was termed 'the irrepressible drink question," and "was further bewildered . . . by the action of the several opposing parties."

This quite accurately described the situation which persisted up to the founding of our Colony. We might well add that this observation may well be applied to "the irrepressible drunk question" since that date to the present time. If any one is interested in repetition of observations by earlier authors, we suggest a reading of the ten books referred to in a volume entitled the "Praise of Drunkenness" reprinted from the edition of 1723, a copy of which may be found in the library of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, Boylston Street, Boston.

To set out the penological and other restrictive measures taken by the nations of the world to suppress the evil consequences of drunkenness, from ancient times to the colonization of Massachusetts, would require more space than is warranted in a report of this nature. Viewing these fields broadly, it may be stated that penalties for drunkenness in the world at large ranged from the imposition of capital punishment to the simple imposition of small fines.

Measures restricting the consumption of alcoholic beverages varied from absolute prohibition of their use to control by "revenue measures." However, on one phase of alcohol ingestion, there was almost universal accord. Most countries, since ancient times, deemed "excessive indulgence" to be criminal, and passed laws penalizing drunkenness and "distempering with liquor." Such was the common law of England and of the Massachusetts Colonies.

## Chapter III.

Early Penological Activities of Massachusetts in Alcoholic Fields.

It will be useful to follow the activities of the Massachusetts Colonies in the alcoholic fields, and to study their effect in controlling inebriety.

Before entering an exploration of the surrounding circumstances at the beginning of our Colonial period, it may be well to pause and note that the world had gone through the shocks of the "Crusades" and the "Reformation" and had received the benefits of the new era of education arising out of the period of the "Renaissance." The "vices and superfluities of mankind" had gone under constant review and attack during this period. A growing scientific research had exploded many of the fallacies of preceding centuries. Toward the end of that period the "feast days" on which "whole populaces got drunk" were over, and science was beginning to cut deep salients into the dark areas of the "alcoholic fields" of the unenlightened past. Yet, though considerable advances had been made in some quarters, "medicine" was still in a fog, resorting to alcoholic beverages as a medicinal "cure-all" and for anæsthetic purposes. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that alcohol was extensively used. How extensive this use was in the beginning of the Colonial days may be easily sensed if we peruse the manifest of the good ship "Arabella" when it reached our shores in 1629, bearing Governor Winthrop and his company to Massachusetts Bay. It had among its supplies the following beverages: "Fortytwo tons of beer;" "Fourteen tons of water;" "One hogshead of vinegar;" "Two hogsheads of Cider;" and "Four pumps for water and beer." See the "Evolution of Prohibition in the United States," by Charrington.

It is evident from the records of the Colonial days that the use of alcoholic beverages was extensive and that addiction was equally so. From the material at hand we could submit a detailed report of what transpired in our Colonial days relative to the alcoholic field, as evidenced by official records of that period, but we deem it unnecessary to do so.

It will suffice to point out that those "good old days" were

not so good as is often stated, but that the "vices and superfluities of life" were quite freely indulged in under the system which then prevailed. Drunkenness and its related offences were present in no mean volume in spite of the fact that severe penalties and restrictive measures were constantly applied. Why? The simple answer is that then, as now, preventive action was applied too late to curb the course of those of the populace who finally reached the addict stage. Then, as now, when persons reached that stage the condition was not reversible.

A brief review of what transpired will help one in understanding the problems which are created by intemperate drinking and the inefficacy of any treatment when the severer stages of addiction are reached.

As early as 1630 a Colonial law permitted "seizure of strong-water" because "great quantities thereof" had been sold "to several men's servants which was the occasion of much disorder and misdemeanor.", Fines for "drunkenness and distempering oneself with strong-water" were of frequent occurrence. The cases show that fines ran from two shillings to "seizure of strong-water" because "great quantities thereof" had been sold "to several men's servants which was the occasion of much disorder and misdemeanor."

It was probably by authority of this "legislation" that Capt. Myles Standish and his gallant company assailed the "notorious dispensary of Thomas Morton and his revellers' at Mount Wollaston," confiscating the liquor found there. The report does not show what became of it after it was so confiscated. It was customary to turn it over to "religion" for the use of the poor of the parish, as appears from later reports.

But, to continue, the early reports show that "fines for drunk-enness and distempering one's-self with strong-water" were of frequent occurrence. The cases show that these fines varied from "Two shillings" to "Forty pounds," the amount imposed depending upon the surrounding circumstances. The "giver" and "seller" of strong drink "to such as were drunk with it, he knowing thereof," was then punishable as a crime. Confiscation of the remainder of the "strong-water" so given or sold was proper. Cases were found wherein it was ordered that the confiscated strong-water "be delivered into the hands of the deacons of Dorchester, for the benefit of the poore there."

In this year, too, "it was ordered that (J. W.) shall be sett in the bill-bowes for being drunk at the Newe Towne."

In 1632 one convicted of drunkenness and its oft related crimes

— theft and fornication — was fined "5 pounds to the court," "40 pounds to the offended" and in addition thereto was ordered to "be severely whipped and branded on the hand with a hot iron and after banished out of the Patent, with the penalty that if he ever be found within the limits of said patent he shall be put to death."

On July 2, 1633, it was "ordered that no person shall sell either wine or strong-water without leave from the Governor or Deputy Governor, . . . and that no man shall sell or being in the course of trading give any strong water to any Indian." In the same year it was "ordered that (R. C.) is fined 10 pounds and enjoined to stand with a white sheet of paper on his back wherein a drunkard shall be written in great letters and to stand therewith so long, as the Court thinks meete for abuseing himself shamefully with drinke, enticing J. S.'s wife to incontinency and other misdemeanors."

In that year Plymouth Colony passed "a law against drunkenness in one's house." Innkeepers are to sell "not over two pense worth to anyone but strangers just arrived." In this year numerous cases of drunkenness are recorded where fines or their equivalent in labor were imposed. We pass these without further comment until we find the case of (J. H.) of Plymouth Colony, who was "censured for drunkenness and ordered to sit in the stocks and amerced in twenty shillings fine."

"T. J. and J. V. fined 20 shillings a peece for mispending their time in company keeping drinking strong-water and selling others contrary to a order of the Court."

On March 4, 1633, "It is ordered that R. C. for drunkenness by him committed at Roxbury shall be disfranchised; wear about his neck and so to hang upon his outward garment a D made of red cloth and sett upon white to continue this for a year and not to leave it off at any time when he comes amongst company, under the penalty of 40 shillings for the first offence and 5 pounds the second, and after to be punished by the Court as they think meete; also he is to wear the D outwards, and is enjoined to appear at the next General Court and to continue there til the Court ended."

On July 1, 1633, it was "determined and enacted, that the person in whose house they were found drunk, or suffered to drink drunk, be left to the arbitrary fine and imprisonment of the Governor and Council according to the nature and circumstances of that same." (Plymouth Col. Laws, 31.) This law was re-enacted in 1636 and 1658.

In 1636 the Plymouth Colony laws were revised so as to prohibit the sale without a license of "wine and beere and strong-drink." (Plymouth Col. Laws, 46.)

Also, "that such as either drink drunk in their person or suffer any to drink drunk in their houses be inquired into amongst other misdemeanors and accordingly punished or fined or both by the direction of the bench."

Also, "that the children and servants of such as dwell neer any victualling house be not entertayned or suffered by the master of the said house there to drink and spend their time; but if any such thing be proved it be esteemed a misdemeanor punishable in the said victualler and to be inquired into." (Col. Laws, Part I, p. 47.)

In 1636 it was enacted "that none allowed to be victuallers without leave of the (General) Court." And a penalty fixed "for allowing any to become drunk — five shillings a peece."

Furthermore, "And if the victualler or ordinary keeper do suffer any person to be drunken in his house above an hour at any one tyme the victualler or ordinary keeper shall pay for any such default XIId and the person so staying above the said hower (hour) IIIs IIIId."

This act also defined drunkenness thusly: "And by drunkenness is understood a person that either lisp or faulters in his speech by reason of over much drink, or that staggers in his going, or that vomits by reason of excessive drinking or cannot follow his calling. The person or persons that shall be found guilty in these or any of them shall for the first default pay five shillings and for the second default ten shillings to the Colonies use, and for the third time he shall be found faulty to be bound to the good behaviour, and if he or they cannot or will not pay the fine or fines to be set in the stocks," etc. (Col. Laws, Part I, p. 84.)

In 1636: "Ordered that (W. P.) shall for drunkenness and other misdemeanors stand at the next General Court one hour in public view with a white sheet of paper on his breast, having a great D made upon it and shall attend the pleasure of the Court til he be dismissed." "Ordered that (J. W.) W. B. and T. W. be censured to be whipped six stroaks a piece for drunkenness." "Same to T. S." "P. B. censured for drunkenness, to be whipped and to have 20 strikes sharply inflicted and fined 5 pounds for slighting the magistrates."

In 1637: "(E. S.) for his beastly drunkenness was centured to be sett in the bilboes til the end of the Court and then to be severely wipt."

In 1637, the General Court: "to discourage drunkenness orders that no person shall remain in any inn or victualing house longer than necessary occasions upon payment of twenty (20) shillings for every offence;" and "sack or strong-water shall not be sold to Indians." It is noted that this year (1637) Captain Sedgwick built in the Massachusetts Colony the first brewery built in America, and that "J. B. was censored for drunkenness to be sett two hours in the bilboes upon the market day at Boston, publicly."

In 1638 numerous cases of violation of liquor laws are reported in which persons were fined or put in the stocks or whipped for "excessive drinking" or "being distempered with drink," or for "immoderate drinking." To cap them all, "four watchmen—T. M., E. P., F. G., and T. B. being watchmen—drinking several times strong-water were imprisoned and were sett in the stocks for being drunk."

In 1639, also, many cases of drunkenness are reported wherein sentences similar to those heretofore recited were inflicted. That year presented the first case (J. R.) of a woman who, "for disorder in her house, drunkenness and light behavour was centured to be severely whipt."

On Nov. 28, 1640 (J. D.) "for swearing, stealing and drunkenness, was censured to be severely whipt, . . . and, for third offence was committed to Leift Davenport" (to a form of slavery).

In 1640, also, we find the case of (J. K.) who "for his uncomely speeches and obscene was sharply reprehended and for distemper in drinking wine was fined 40s to be paid the treasurer in 10 days." This apparently was a case where a modified version of the principle of suspended sentence was put in operation.

By this time a prison had come into existence and we find that in 1640 "(W. W.) for being distempered with wine and misspending his time and neglecting both public and private ordinances was committed to prison to be kept to work there." In this year, also, are found numerous cases where fines and corporal punishment were imposed. The most notable case of a change in the sentencing that year was that of (J. L. G.) who "for distemper in drink, swearing, and cursing was fined 20 pounds, and put to sureties before his departure."

The year 1641 was noted for the fact that "the cultivation of hops" was introduced in Massachusetts and that John Appleton was "its first malster." It will be noted that over two hundred years after this an Appleton was rescuing drunks from the gutter and giving them home treatment in the "Appleton Home For Enebriates" in Boston.

From 1641 to 1671 many cases were reported annually, in which penalties similar to those heretofore reported were imposed and carried out. Both the "giver and the receiver" in drunkenness cases were punished. "So too, there was the drunk and the person who gave liquor to him, which resulted in drunkenness." No one is able to tell how effective this penology was, but that it did not stamp out intemperance is apparent from a very significant preamble to the revision of the Plymouth Colony laws in June, 1671. The chapter relating to drunkenness and intoxicating beverage is as follows:

25. Forasmuch as it is observed, that the sin of Drunkenness, doth greatly abound, to the dishonor of God, impoverishing of such as fall into it, and grief of such as are sober minded; For prevention and it may be suppression of that growing and prevailing evil; it is enacted by this Court and authority thereof, that whatsoever persons shall be found drunk at any time in any tavern, ordinarie, alehouse or elsewhere in this Government, or be legally convict thereof, he or they shall for the first default be fined five shillings to the countries use; for the second default ten shillings, and if he or they will not pay or cannot pay the fine, then to be set in the stocks not exceeding two hours; for the third transgression to be bound to the good behavior, and if he transgresses a fourth time to pay five pounds or be publicly whipped, and so from time to time as often as they shall be found transgressors in that kind; by drunkenness is to be understood one that lisps or falters in his speech by reason of overmuch Drink or that staggers in his going, or that vomits by reason of excessive drinking or that cannot by reason thereof follow his calling.

26. Whereas, notwithstanding all the care and endeavours of this Court to prevent that great and raging sin of drunkenness; yet still many goe on in it; Therefore this Court doth further enact, that the names of such as are found to be common drunkards in this Government, shall be enrouled or recorded, and that whatever person or persons, whether ordinarie keepers or others, shall give, sell or lend either directly or indirectly any strong liquors or wine or strong beer unto any such person or persons., shall forfeit ten shillings, five shillings to the Colonies use, and five shillings to the informer, and the names of such persons as are found in any town, shall be set up in some publick place. (Part III, Plymouth Col. Laws, 251.)

Later, by the Province Laws (1692), drunkenness was punished "five shillings for every such offence," and if not paid "the offender to be set in the stocks, not exceeding 3 hours, at the discretion of the Court." "Upon a second conviction for drunkenness every such offender, over and above the penalty aforesaid shall be bound with two sureties in the sum of ten pounds, with

condition of good behaviour; and for want of such sureties shall be sent to the common jail until he find the same." It was provided, further, "that the property of the offender might be distressed to pay the fine . . . and that the fines be delivered to the selectmen or overseers of the poor, for the use of the poor." (Province Laws, c. 11, § 2; Ancient Charter Laws, 237.)

Putting drunks into a cage is nothing new. In the following year (1693), by chapter 20 of the Province Laws, it was provided that drunkards who could not pay the fines might be sentenced "by setting in the stocks, or putting into the Cage not exceeding three hours — or by imprisonment twenty-four hours, or by whipping not exceeding ten stripes, as the case may deserve." (Province Laws, c. 20; Ancient Charter Laws, 259.)

How effective these measures were in preventing drunkenness may be inferred by the preamble to an amendment of chapter 20 of the Province Laws, which reads as follows: "Whereas the penalties provided by an act (above set forth) have in a great measure proved ineffectual to restrain from drunkenness . . . be it enacted . . . that for the future . . . for every such offences ten shillings." The rest of the law remained as before. (Ancient Charter Laws, 493.)

Six years thereafter we find another extension of the effort to control intemperance and its related offences.

On May 31, 1699, "an act for the suppressing of Rogues, Vagabonds, Common Beggars, Common drunkards, Common night walkers, etc." was passed providing for a "house of correction to be established in each county." The keepers were authorized "to punish them by putting fetters or shackles upon them and by moderate whipping not exceeding ten stripes at once . . . to be applied when they first come in and from time to time in case they are stubborn or disorderly or idle and do not perform their task . . . or to abridge them of their food as the cause may require, until they be reduced to better order."

It is apparent that matters in the next decade were not satisfactory. On March 11, 1711, the Province passed a law governing the licensing of "Inns, Taverns, Alehouses, Victuallers and other houses of common entertainment, and retailers of strong liquors out of doors, . . . "so that they might serve for refreshment and entertainment of travelers and strangers . . . and not be nurseries of vice and debauchery as too frequently practiced by some . . . to the hurt of many persons by misspending of their time and money in such houses, to the ruin of families." (Acts of 1911–1912, c. 6; Province Laws, 1711–1712.)

In view of what followed, it will be helpful to briefly point out the provisions of this act. They are to be found in I Act and Resolves of Province of Massachusetts Bay, 679. The substance of its sections is as follows:

- Sec. 1. Provided that the liquor laws be read at town meetings in March of each year.
- Sec. 2. All officers are directed to see that laws are observed.
- Sec. 3. A list of persons licensed was to be kept and transmitted to the selectmen.
- Sec. 4. "None to be firstly licensed but upon recommendation of the selectmen . . . and licenses not to be renewed until complaints be heard and judged of."
- Sec. 5. Licensed persons not suitably provided to be deprived of licenses.
- Sec. 6. Town dwellers prohibited drinking in public houses after nine o'clock at night.
- Sec. 7. After last day of June next, "no inn-holder, taverner or victualler shall sell any brandy, rhum, or other distilled liquors, mixed or unmixed, within or without his house . . . and persons licensed to retail wine and strong liquors not to sell in less quantity than a pint, nor to sell any other sort of drink than wine and distilled liquors."
- Sec. 8. Singing, music and dancing forbidden in public houses.
- Sec. 9. Common drunkards to be posted up at retailers, and "drink forbidden them."
- Sec. 10. Selectmen to appoint persons as informers, they to be paid out of town treasury.

It should be noted this "license law" in effect was only supplementary to the existing law. The existing penalties continued without substantial change until 1812, when the St. of 1812, Chapter 134, made a radical change in the policy of the Commonwealth in regard to the punishment for the so-called higher and more atrocious crimes and offences. It in substance provided that on conviction before the Supreme Judicial Court (which, at that time, had exclusive jurisdiction of all such aggravated offences) for any crime or misdemeanor then punishable by whipping, standing in the pillory, sitting on the gallows, or imprisonment in the common jail, the court might, in lieu of such punishments, sentence such convicts to suffer solitary imprisonment, and be confined to hard labor for a time not exceeding five years, without any limit as to the minimum. This, it will be recollected, took place soon after the State Prison at Charlestown had been organized and was fully operating. This practically took away all the degrading and ignominious punishments formerly provided by

law, and if it did not in terms extend to all of them, because not included in the enumeration, the act authorizing them was afterwards repealed in terms in 1836, by the repealing act accompanying the Revised Statutes. (See statement by C. J. Shaw in the case of *Jones v. Robbins*, 8 Gray, 329, 348, 349, decided in the March term of the year 1857.)

From the year 1712 to that of 1832 there were no substantial changes in the laws designed to prevent or suppress intemperance. The natural inquiry is, How successful were they in carrying out the desired objective? There is an abundance of literature to the effect that corruption and fraud and bribery combined to render all legislative enactments ineffective. If anything more is needed to substantiate that literature and the implications from the language of the various enactments, it can be found in the observations of contemporary writers.

Let us now briefly note the contemporary reports for added light as to the effectiveness of the so-called "legal restraints" and "preventative measures" then in vogue, and which were so often declared to be "indispensable to the public welfare." A few reports by the more careful and trustworthy observers of the latter part of this period will suffice to illustrate the point in question.

George Washington, in 1775, said, "One half of the working men of America have been ruined by intemperate drinking."

Bishop Meade (1770) said, "Even the clergy indulged in the neglect of their sacred callings, . . . the church itself was all but abandoned in the disrepute which the conduct of its ministers brought upon the house of God."

Schoepf (1777) said, "Court Houses always had a shanty attached for the sale of liquor. People are taxed for sums with which to buy liquor to celebrate."

Rochefoncould (1780): "County Taverns were poor and sometimes vile. Wiskey mixed with water was the common drink."

Beveridge, in his "Life of Marshall," speaking of the 1780 period, said, "The incredible quantity of liquor, wine, and beer, consumed by all classes is the most striking and conspicuous feature of early American life — drinking and dissipations were universal and extreme."

Weld (1785) observed, "Heavy drinking is universal and continuous . . . men congregate at inns and spend in one quarter of an hour, the earnings of a day."

DeWarville (1787) pointed out that "The (U. S.) imported four million gallons of rum, brandy, and wine; and three million

gallons of molasses, used principally for the manufacture of rum; as against only one hundred twenty five thousand pounds of tea."

It is well to bear in mind in connection with these observations, that the population of the United States in 1787 was only three and one quarter million, including men, women and children, of which no more than 700,000 were adult males. Thus we may perceive that there was at least a substantial failure to control intemperance by any of the means adopted up to the latter part of the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the fact that the issuance of the licenses and the administration of the law relating thereto were often entrusted to persons holding "high offices of trust and confidence," and that all phases of the subject as then understood had been debated time almost without number both at home and abroad. A simple glance at the titles of some of the books published in this period will suffice to illustrate the force of the latter statement.

- 1. "Drunkenness, its Degrees, Causes and Remedies," by Richard Baxter (1670).
- 2. "A Delicate Diet for Damtie Mouthde Droonkards," by George Gascoyne, Esq. (1736).
- 3. "A Defence of the Distillery," being a reply to the foregoing.
- 4. "Acts of Parliament on Drink and Drink Selling."
- 5. Dr. Johnson's Report of the Great Debate on the "Liquor Trade" in the House of Lords (1743).
- "An Essay; Medical, Philosophical, and Chemical on Drunkenness," by T. Trotter, M.D. (1804).
- 7. "Parliamentary Debates of Peculiar Interest on the Drink Question."
- 8. "The Cold Water Man," Albany, N. S., 1832.
- 9. "An Inquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors," by B. Rush, M.D. (U. S.) (1785).

The ineffectiveness of the measures taken to repress intemperance and the inability of the medical profession of that period to salvage the human wreckage which followed in its wake were in large measure responsible for the strong temperance movement which followed in our Commonwealth in the early part of the nineteenth century.

The problem was then attacked from another angle. In addition to the limitations hitherto described, restrictions on the quantity of alcoholic beverages to be sold were prescribed. A 'thirty-gallon law" was tried. An amendment to this followed in 1832, which reduced the maximum permitted to be sold to "10 gals." (See Acts of 1832, c. 106.)

Probably, as a result of the strong temperance movement which had set in at about this time, during the year 1829, three resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives, calling for investigation into the necessity or desirability of the ration to the United States Army of one gill of spirits daily; and of the Navy's ration of twice that amount. Three medical officers of the navy — Dr. Lewis Heermaass, Dr. William P. C. Barton, and Dr. Thomas Harris - were assigned by the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments to report their separate opinions on the subject of including distilled spirits in the ration of the army and navy personnel. Their opinions are of interest as reflecting the knowledge and viewpoints of American physicians in 1830 on the effects of alcohol. They advised abolishing the liquor ration, but the subject was tabled and no action was then taken. But in 1830, President Jackson, acting under an old congressional grant of power, abolished the army ration of distilled spirits. His action was confirmed in 1838 by a new act of Congress. But this only applied to the army, and it was not till 1862 - a war year - that ('ongress abolished the ration of spirits in the navy. (Quart. Journal of Stud. on Alcoholism. March, 1944, 4: 608, 609.)

Later, by the Rev. St., chapter 47, county commissioners were granted the power to license "as many persons as they shall think the public good may require."

This was followed by the Acts of 1837, chapter 242, which authorized county commissioners to "withhold all licenses in their discretion."

Then came the Acts of 1838, chapter 157, commonly called the "fifteen gallon law," which in substance made penal all sales of spirituous liquors less than fifteen gallons; licensed only apothecaries to sell for medicine and the arts; and punished sales for beverage purposes.

This brought up the question of "prohibition." The act was contested in the courts of our Commonwealth as unconstitutional, but was not decided before it was repealed in 1840 without any reservations. The Supreme Court of our Commonwealth decided, in 1840, that the repeal revived the pre-existing laws (chapter 47 of the Rev. St. and chapter 242 of the Acts of 1837). (See Commonwealth v. Churchill, 2 Met. 118.)

These acts forbade sales without licenses; forbade sales to minors; and on the Lord's day; and prohibited sales of liquor imported into the State by persons other than the importer, and then only in the original package. Strong penalties were pro-

vided for infractions. The cases were strongly contested, and in 1847 reached the United States Supreme Court. They were the so-called famous "License Cases." Somewhat identical questions were raised in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, and these States joined Massachusetts in presenting the issues to the United States Supreme Court. In a long and well reasoned opinion the court decided that the States had the right to pass "license laws" prohibiting sales of liquor imported into the State "by persons other than the importer" and "then only in the original package." (See Thurlow v. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 57 Howard, 256.)

What went on in this Commonwealth between 1786 and 1845, with reference to intoxicating liquor, appears from the able arguments of counsel who appeared for the Commonwealth and the defendants. Daniel Webster and Rufus Choate appeared for the defendants. The Commonwealth's interests were represented by Attorney Generals Davis and Huntington. The cases were argued in 1845. Webster in his argument in so far as is here important, pointed out "that until 1837 the laws of Massachusetts uniformly provided for the sale and consumption of wines and ardent spirits imported into her markets; that the Acts of 1786, chapter 68 (Massachusetts Laws, 297), was in force with additional acts till 1832." "Since chapter 47 of the Rev. St. and chapter 242 of the Acts of 1837, no licenses have been granted in Massachusetts. The first sale in the case at bar was in May 1841 . . . and this case has been brought up on writ of error as soon as the laws of Massachusetts and the decisions of her highest courts have established prohibition as the law of that State."

Attorney General Davis for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in his argument alluded to the following facts: "The law of Massachusetts was revised in 1836; but acts similar in principle and nearly so in detail have existed for more than two centuries, and been enforced by her judicial tribunals." (See Ancient Charters, 135, 314, 443; Laws of Massachusetts, 1786, ch. 68; Rev. Stat., ch. 47.)

"The law substantially as it now is, forbidding a sale without a license in less quantities than 28 gallons, was made in 1786 and was in force when the Federal Constitution was ratified, and has with immaterial modifications remained so from that time (1786) to this date (1847)." He further pointed out that — "experience had everywhere proved that there was a proneness in the human appetite to excess which requires control . . . and that the train of evils which mark the progress of intemperance is too obvious

to require comment. It brings with it degradation of character; impairs the moral and physical energies; wastes the health; increases the number of paupers and criminals; and sinks the victims to the lowest depths of vice and profligacy. . . . In proof of this, there were in New York in 1845, 26,114 paupers, 6,245 of whom were reduced to that condition by intemperance. In Massachusetts in the same year there were 14,308, and 6,740 were addicted to excessive drinking. In Sing Sing penitentiary in 1845 there were 861 convicts, and 504 of these had been intemperate . . . the returns of other poor houses and penitentiaries are equally startling . . . these facts prove that intemperance is an evil of all-pervading magnitude, and that all communities have set upon it the seal of disapprobation. . . Such being its character, and such the evils which it engenders, the Colony, the Province, and the State of Massachusetts held it to be an imperative duty to check its progress by suitable restraint and to promote sobriety and temperance by wholesome regulations . . . her law stood upon her statute book when the federal constitution was made and there it still remains. No argument can make the fact clearer, that she has at all times esteemed legal restraint as indispensable to the public welfare."

It thus appears that though licenses could have been granted in our Commonwealth to sell intoxicating liquor, none were in fact granted from 1837 to 1847. A pertinent question is, Why the necessity of this prohibition? The answer is plain. It was because the majority of the people had made up their minds that none of the measures tried had been effective in properly preventing intemperance. It should be borne in mind that the magistrates of Colonial times and the early days of our Commonwealth were largely ministers of religion, and that criminal punishments were in great part of Biblical origin. So, too, were those who practiced medicine, though not to so great an extent.

## Chapter IV.

MEDICAL TREATMENT OF INEBRIETY PRIOR TO 1887.

It was evident that neither preaching nor medication nor punishment could curb the intemperance that resulted from the consumption of liquor that the people either lawfully or unlawfully were able to obtain. It should be noted that the so-called "cure" which the medical profession then used to salvage the inebriate would probably result in manslaughter indictments if resorted to by the doctors of today. All that is needed to illustrate this point is to state the approved treatment (for curing inebriety) which persisted from the time of the landing of the Pilgrims to as late as 1887 in our Commonwealth and elsewhere in our land and abroad. In those so-called "good old days" the cure for inebriety was "bleeding," "leeching," cupping, blistering, poison dosage, "pinking" or "continuous nausea," "drastic purgation," and "depresants of every shade and intensity." (The Eclectic Med. Jour., 34: 38 (1874); cf. The Eclectic Med. Jour., 39: 295 (1879).)

It should also be noted that during this period "Alcoholic drinks entered largely into the treatment of disease and also in the common dietary." "In malarious districts, particularly the morning dram was an essential prophylactic." American physicians and moralists observed the evil results and instituted a salutary reform. Intoxicating liquors were banished to a great extent "by the better medics" from common use, and restricted to the graver conditions of disease. (From the "Address of Dr. Gibbons" (1873), Pacific Med. Journal.)

It is plain from the medical literature of the period from 1830 to 1880 that the ineffectiveness of so-called "cures" and the obvious harm being done by intemperance led to what might be characterized as quasi prohibition period before 1852 and prohibition period of 1852–1867. It is also clear that preventive measures supplied by a rather strenuous penology of the latter period failed to adequately accomplish the desired objective largely because "quack doctors" supplied alcoholic beverages under fanciful medicinal titles to all who wished to pay the price. Medical history records that these were the years when "medical diploma mills" were operating "full blast," turning out "quack

doctors" who never had attended medical schools, and whose chief practice was "bleeding" the public in more ways than one. Not until 1880 was there any legislative action taken to prevent incompetent and unscrupulous persons from practicing medicine in Massachusetts. (See the Eclectic Med. Journal, 40: 168 (1880).)

The "History of Medicine in Massachusetts" further shows that the practice of medicine was in a serious state of evolution in the period above referred to. There appears to have been a continuous "war-fare" between the allopaths, homoeopaths and eclectics. Unsparing criticism resulted from this conflict of views. This acted as an urge toward research and debate which led to a better understanding of causes and effects of disease and alcoholic human wreckage. (See Dr. Bowditch's Address before the Rhode Island Med. Society (1887), reported in the Eclectic Med. Journal, 47: 581.)

But as usual the doctors, were not united in their conclusions. Some unstintingly "damned" prohibition, calling it "a delusion" and praised the use of alcoholic beverages, asserting them to be food. (See Article by J. A. Howe, M.D., published in Medical Eclectic Journal, 38: 440, 443 (1878). And see an editorial published in the "Journal of Inebriety" and reported in the Eclectic Med. Journal, 42: 575, 576 (1887).)

Others "flayed" their use as a beverage, pointing out that "it was worse than folly to use . . . such excitements . . . at great expense to the vitality . . . after which come periods of sadness and prostration" ("Natural Stimulants," by J. A. Mank, M.D., The Eclectic Journal, 33: 213 (1873). See also an editorial in the Eclectic Med. Journal, 38: 484 (1878). Also see Jennings on Medical Reform, pp. 167–183, an excellent presentation of the subject for the time (1847), showing splendid foresight in the light of present medical findings.)

This warfare among the doctors resulted in a "focusing of light" upon the harm that was being done by many of the medical profession who were prescribing alcoholic beverages under the guise of medicine. Dr. Gibbons' observations in 1873 in the address above referred to, speaking of the period 1847 to 1873, sheds much light on the happenings and trends of the times.

He obviously was a keen observer who stood high in the esteem of his brethren. What he said to them in 1873, as reported in the Pacific Medical Journal (1873) and the Eclectic Journal, 33: 210, very clearly describes the conditions which prevailed up to that time, not only in Massachusetts but elsewhere. It also shows

that he was aware of the fact that there are cycles in reformation, and that the "tide of reform does not remain long at the flood," but that "the flow follows the ebb" in matters relating to measures designed to control intemperance. His observations shed so much light on contemporary factors relating to the period comprising 1847 to 1873 that they are worthy of quotation.

He pointed out that American physicians and moralists observed the evil results and instituted a salutary reform.

Intoxicating liquors were banished, to a great extent, from common use, and restricted to the graver conditions of disease. The reformation extended to the Fatherland, but only with partial success. Our British brethren were not prepared to sacrifice a wanted indulgence to a sentiment; nevertheless, a great change was effected in England, both in public opinion and in the practice of medical men. But the tide of reform does not long remain at the flood. Certain English physicians entered with a zeal upon a defence of alcohol as food and physic. The murky atmosphere of London was incompetent to feed the blood with oxygen, and the stomach, with persuasive eloquence, rallied to the assistance of the lungs. Not only did alcohol sustain the flagging life, but it was capable also of reducing the excitement of fever. Science came to the aid of the "toper" and confirmed his favorite idea that the most opposite virtues meet in the cup. Chemistry and physiology joined hands with fashion, literature and appetite, to set all the world to drinking.

Physicians in America were not backward in following the example. Discoveries leading to results so palatable carried conviction on their face and were accepted with avidity. The age of whiskey was inaugurated. But the flow follows the ebb. Many British physicians took alarm at the increase of intemperance as a result of the universal sanction given to the practice of moderate drinking.

Several hundred of the leading men in the profession issued an appeal to their brethren, urging them to restraint and caution in the prescription of alcoholic medicines. Medical men and associations in France were startled at the increase of intemperance among a people hitherto reputed sober, and are organizing extensive warfare against the vice. A reaction is in progress both in Europe and America, which promises to convince the world that our profession acknowledges its moral obligations to society as well as those obligations which concern more directly the bodies of their patients. The havoc which the use of strong drink has made in the ranks of our profession in California ought to deter us from their careless administration to our patients.

It is a delicate subject to handle, and I will dismiss it by kindly inviting every professional brother who uses or prescribes them familiarly to look back upon the long list of physicians who have died in California, and see what a large proportion of them have fallen victim to intemperance.

There is nothing which concerns the interests of humanity, whether physical, moral or religious, that can be ignored by the true medical philosopher. Let us not suffer our moral nature to be dwarfted by the ideas that our sphere of duty is limited by the obvious domain of therapeutics and hygiene. Neither the health of the individual nor the welfare of society can be separated from the cultivation of moral and religious sentiments.

We have now seen what part medicine played in the alcoholic field up to 1883, and how many in this profession were drunkards, perchance because they were "continuously brought in contact with alcohol in the form of 'bitters,' 'elixirs,' and stimulants so freely prescribed to the sick." "They . . . were . . . frequent tasters . . . and after a time . . . grew an appetite for it." (Editorial, "Intemperance among Physicians" (1883), The Eclectic Med. Jour., 43: 146.)

We have also been made aware of the part doctors played in promoting alcoholism among laymen and others.

# Chapter V.

CERTAIN SOCIOLOGICAL, CRIMINOLOGICAL, AND PENOLOGICAL AS-PECTS RELATING TO INEBRIETY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Let us "turn back the calendar" and go back to the first half of the nineteenth century to observe what the people of this Commonwealth were doing to overcome the evils of intemperance.

A splendid résumé of the "high lights" of the "liquor movement" is found in an article by Francis W. Bird, entitled "Modification or Absolute Prohibition, Which?" Mr. Bird was a member of the Massachusetts Legislature during the "sixties," a period in which remedial measures were greatly debated in our Commonwealth. See "Address Delivered by Francis W. Bird," above referred to, delivered before The Lyceum Association of East Walpole, dated December 8, 1869. He ably pointed out that "from that date (1630) to a recent date (1868) every expedient of legislative ingenuity has been employed to regulate the traffic in intoxicating drinks . . . that no department of social and moral reform has occupied so largely the earnest and conscientious efforts of the friends of humanity in Massachusetts as the temperance cause . . . the terrible evils of intemperance have been admitted by all good citizens; the duty of wielding all possible agencies to limit these evils has been equally admitted, and this universal public feeling has shown itself in an uninterrupted line of legislative enactments aiming at the suppression of these evils; down to 1852 every form of regulation, every form of license laws, reaching almost to absolute prohibition on the one hand and almost free trade on the other, had been tried, and, I think by universal admission all had failed."

A fair question at this point is, Is it true that "all had failed"? We would challenge the accuracy of that generality. True, it failed to stop addiction in some. But who knows how many were "saved" by the "prohibition laws" in Massachusetts prior to 1852; and in the years 1852 and 1864? Look at chart 124, appended to this report, and note the low yearly average prison population for our State Prison in the 1850–1852 period, and in that for 1865 to 1868, and again in that of 1919 and 1920. We passed the low point which appears on the chart in 1885, because that drop was caused by the shifting of prisoners from the State

Prison to the reformatories which went into active operation in that period. But no such change of institutional commitment took place in the other three "low point periods" of prohibition eras. What was it that caused these low points in the prison population of the State Prison, if it was not the sobering effect of the early periods of prohibition laws which then were best operating?

But, assuming that "all had wholly failed" to stop addiction in a portion of the population, another fair question would be. Why? The answer probably is that all measures are as effective as public opinion will permit them to be. If public opinion is such that enforcement of the particular measure is winked at, and nullification is permitted, the effects will be consistent with the volume of the consumption which is taking place at the particular time. It should be clear that it is not the passage of a law that is effective in the gaining of the desired objective, but rather it is the degree of observance that is decisive. If intemperate persons get all the liquor they want, law or no law, the resultant effects will be similar. Partial enforcement will give corresponding partial benefits. History tells us that neither the prohibition laws of 1852, nor those of 1868, were properly enforced or observed. When strict enforcement was attempted, repeal set in and license was restored. It is evident from the history of the liquor movement in Massachusetts that conditions under license are worse than those under prohibition. This is confirmed by what happened under the prohibition period of the 18th amendment and what has happened since "repeal." The evidence showing the volume of poverty, disease, crime and other social evils arising out of the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages is conclusive on this issue. All one has to do to observe the truth of this assertion is to glance at the penal and medical charts hereto annexed and note the trends of the two systems. It is only a truism to say that all the unwanted effects from the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages would vanish if beverage alcohol was not used as such. But if people will use it, when a law prohibits the use, then it is not "prohibition" that is at fault, but rather the lack of observing the restrictions that "prohibition" calls for. The following authorities make these points clear:

John B. Finch, "Prohibition, Constitutional and Statutory" (December, 1883).

Hon. N. C. McFarland, "Prohibition in Kansas, Facts not Opinions" (1889).

Horace Mann, "Massachusetts Anti-liquor Law; with an Analysis and Exposition," pp. 20-21.

Hon. John H. Stines, "Two Centuries of Rhode Island Legislation Against Strong Drink," p. 34 (1882).

Getting back to where we were when this diversion took place, we find that the history of "liquor control" in Massachusetts shows that a strong temperance movement arose early in the nineteenth century, and that temperance societies were formed over the length and breadth of our Commonwealth. There was strong agitation for restriction in the use of alcoholic beverages for more than thirty years prior to 1852, when Massachusetts finally decided to give the "Maine" law a trial. Chapter 322 of the Acts of 1852 was passed. Under the provisions of this act the sale of liquor for beverage purposes was prohibited. Manufacturing for export in not less than thirty-gallon lots; the sale "for medicinal, mechanical and chemical purposes; the sale of cider for other than beverage purposes; and the use of the "fruit of the vine" for religious purposes were permitted." The objectives of this law were not realized.

It appears that similar nullification activities to those which operated under the "Prohibition Act of 1919" followed the passage of the Massachusetts Statute in 1852, but the general effects of that enactment were beneficial. (See the report of B. W. Williams, Secretary of the State Temperance Committee of Massachusetts (1856).) Strong efforts were made in the first few years of the life of this law to enforce it. The Massachusetts Reports of the Decisions of our Supreme Court are studded with cases of defendants who were charged with violation of the provisions of this law. The frequency of the nol-pros was also noted. Between 1852 and 1868 "perfecting laws were passed to strengthen the arm of the law." Chapter 215 of the Acts of 1855 contained sections which prohibited the nol-pros in liquor cases "except with the concurrence of the Court." Other sections made the "seller" liable in damages caused by persons he made drunk. Another section made the "seller" liable to the husband, wife, parent, child, guardian or employer of any person who became "addicted" after notice was given not to sell him. (See Mass. Gen. Sts. (1860), c. 26, for a re-enactment of these provisions.)

From 1852 on, "the drys" were in the saddle and pressed hard for enforcement; nullification tactics "obscured the issue" and doubts were expressed as to the power of prohibition to prevent alcoholic addiction. Many persons expressed the opinion that absolute prohibition was in advance of public opinion. Governor Claffin, in his inaugural address, pointed out that "In a free Commonwealth no law can stand that is not in accordance with general judgement." Under this barrage of propaganda the law became a "dead letter for 15 years" so far as the cities were concerned. It was enforced in the country where public opinion had practically enforced a prohibitionary law before the law of 1852 was placed on the statute books, but in large cities the traffic was practically unchecked. The friends of the law alleged that its non-enforcement was due largely to defects in the law. These were gradually remedied.

In 1865, through the influence of Governor Andrew, a law establishing the State Police was passed, though opposed by the special friends of "prohibition," who advocated the Metropolitan Police Bill. They soon saw, however, that the State Police Act, popularly known as the State Constabulary Act, would answer their purpose better than a Metropolitan Police. The machinery was organized, and in 1866-1867 it began to be understood that the "prohibitionary law" was to be strictly enforced. Then came the reaction in 1867. The General Court, commencing in January, 1867, was presented with petitions for and against "repeal." The number of these petitioners up to April, 1867, "comprised thirty thousand legal voters" of the State. One of the most powerful was presented by Alpheus Hardy and others, praying for the enactment of "a judicious license law for the regulation and control of spirituous and fermented liquors in the Commonwealth."

A petition was also presented by the principal inn keepers in the city of Boston, praying "for such changes in existing laws concerning the sale of wines and liquors as shall allow them to supply the wants of the guests of their houses, yet under such exercise and regulation and subject to such supervision as shall be deemed needful for the public good."

A further petition was presented by the officers and trustees of the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, representing that "under the present statutes it was impossible legally to conduct that business and perform the duties to the medical profession and the sick, and praying for such amendment of the law as that apothecaries may be enabled to conduct their business in a legal manner."

It appears that various petitions, numerously signed, were also presented to the General Court remonstrating against any amendment of the existing prohibitory statutes.

All these petitions were referred to a Joint Special Committee

of the two branches of the Legislature, composed of five Senators and nine Representatives. The petitioners were represented before the committee by the Hon. John A. Andrew and Hon. Linas Child as Counsel; and the remonstrants were in like manner represented before the committee by Hon. Asahel Huntington, Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D., and William Spooner, Esq., as Counsel.

The hearings were continued for four days each week, besides two evening sessions, beginning February 19 and ending April 3, at first in the Senate Chamber, and afterward in the Representatives Hall, in the State House, Boston.

The opening argument was made by Hon. Linas Child, for the petitioners, and witnesses of the following vocations and avocations were called, sworn and examined in their behalf: 37 ministers, 12 professors, 10 judges, 12 lawyers, 8 attorney generals or district attorneys or assistant district attorneys, 2 ex-governors, 2 bankers, 5 doctors, 6 marshals, 10 mayors and 19 apothecaries, making 123 witnesses in all.

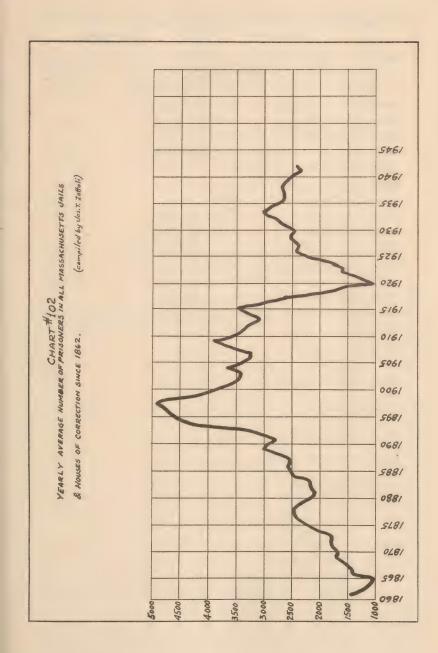
At the conclusion of the presentation of this evidence, arguments in favor and against modification were presented. Both were repetitions of what had been stated "pro and con" for centuries before. That in favor of change might be summarized as follows: (1) alcohol is a food; (2) not a poison unless intemperately used — so are all other foods; (3) the sale of such beverages is not immoral; (4) the use of spirits is not the cause but rather the effect of poverty; and (5) its use not sinful, otherwise "Popes and Ministers would not have used it."

The argument of the remonstrants can be summed up in a few words: "The argument of the petitioners is sophistical, and not founded on facts."

The Legislature of 1868, for reasons best known to itself, decided to adopt the petitioners' point of view, and the result was the repeal of the prohibitionary law of 1852 and the passage of the license law of 1868. (See c. 342, Acts of 1868, and c. 344 of Acts of 1868; and see cc. 311, 318 and 141, Acts of 1868, for perfecting amendments.) The "State Police Bill" escaped repeal only through the veto of the Governor.

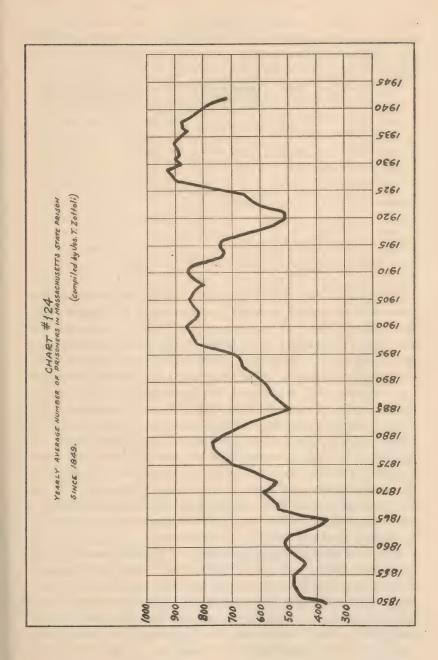
Almost as soon as this license law was passed there was great political agitation against the legislation and the legislators who voted for it. A political upheaval and revolution took place in the election of legislators for the 1869 Legislature. It was a time when a presidential election was to take place. Many of the legislators who had voted for license were defeated at the poles. The result was that when the Legislature of 1869 met, "it was

soon found to be unanimous against the license law; but, . . . divided upon the question whether it should receive such modifications as would make it possible to enforce." It repealed the license law passed in 1868 by an express repeal act. (See c. 191. Acts of 1869.) By its provisions all licenses to sell intoxicating liquor were to "have no force after the 30th of April 1869." A new system was inaugurated by the passage, on June 19, 1869, of chapter 415, Acts of 1869, to take effect July 1, 1869. Here was a carefully drawn act, intended to prevent and check intemperance and to satisfy all parties, "dry," "wet" and "indifferent." A study of its provisions is necessary to a full understanding of how, through its operation and enforcement, it was hoped to diminish the mounting volume of inebriety and human wreckage. It created a system in which the sale of alcohol was more carefully guarded, by providing for its disposal through a commissioner, who was "bonded" to an observance of its provisions. It also released towns with less than 5,000 inhabitants from the necessity of establishing town agencies for the disposal of intoxicating drinks. It also sought to appease the dominant voters by permitting the sale of cider for beverage purposes. But it prohibited the sale of beer, wines and spirits for beverage purposes. The statute had practically all the sections of the more rigorous previous acts, intended to prevent sales to minors, spendthrifts, paupers, drunkards, etc., and provided for civil remedies to those suffering damage through illegal sales. It also outlawed the nol-pros," unless concurred in by the court. But was it successful in diminishing the number of arrests for drunkenness, and the other evils incident to addiction and inebriety? Take a look at the trends shown by charts 102 and 124. Chart 102 shows the yearly average number of prisoners in the jails and houses of correction of our Commonwealth, and the second that of the State Prison. Each shows a decided increase, after this act went into effect, over the low points of the prohibition period of 1852 to 1868.



GRAPH 102.

Year.	HIGH POINTS.		Low Points.	
	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1862	1,443	117.2	_	-
1865	-	-	1,050	82.9
1878	2,496	140.0	_	-
1881	_	-	2,076	116.4
1897	4,927	197.1	-	-
1005-07	-	-	3,216	107.1
1909	3,928	116.7	-	-
1918	-	-	3,077	83.3
1915	3,488	94.4	-	-
1920	-	-	1,016	26.4
1934	3,025	69.5	-	-
1941	-	-	2,331	54.0
1942	2,411	55.8	_	4



GRAPH 124.

	High Points.		Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1850	_	-	365	36.7
1861	520	42.2	-	_
1865	-		359	28.3
1879	770	43.2	-	-
1885	-	-	490	25.2
1900-10	834	27.8	_	- 1
1920-21	-	-	508	13.2
1929-34	901	21.2	-	_
1942	-	-	713	16.5

This system, too, had "its plateau" of human wreckage between the years 1869 and 1875, as is clearly demonstrated by these charts. Here, again, the question, "Why?" is appropriate. The answer is partially to be found in the history of contemporary factors which operated to defeat the objectives desired by the passage of the act. It has been stated by a shrewd contemporary observer, and member of the Legislature, and "Yankee," that "No man of common sense could fail to see that a law which allowed the sale of cider, a law which applied one rule to the Yankee and another to the German, could not be enforced . . . the first seizure of lager beer (after the passage of this law) raised such a storm that, moved thereto, as is popularly supposed, by the advice which he did not feel at liberty to disregard, he discontinued the proceedings, returned the beer to the owner, and up to the day of election our Teutonic friends were undisturbed in the enjoyment of their favorite beverage."

It will be noticed that the doctrine of "appeasement" did not begin with World War II. It did not take long for the Legislature to be convinced that "perfecting" and "broadening" measures should be passed. By chapter 242, Acts of 1870, an appeal was granted to persons whose liquor had been seized and ordered confiscated. In the same year the "appeasement doctrine" was legally put into operation by the passage of chapter 389, Acts of 1870, which also provided for a "local option vote" in cities and towns.

The principle was extended in the following year by the passage

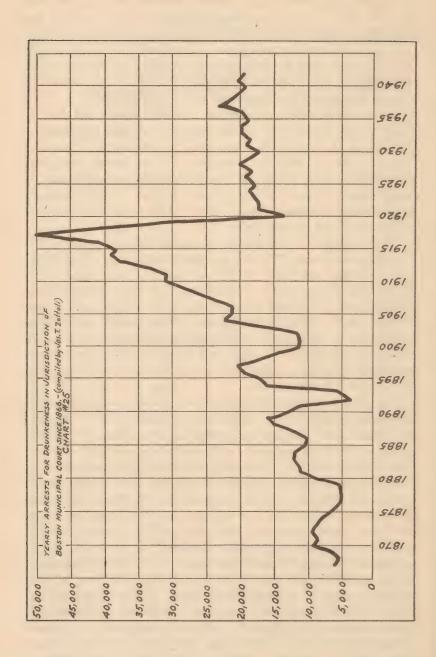
of chapter 334, Acts of 1871, which permitted any city or town to vote that "Any person may manufacture, sell, or keep for sale therein, ale, porter, strong beer or lager beer, and in any city or town so voting any person may manufacture, sell or keep for sale, such liquors until the first Tuesday in the next May following." Here came the first serious break in the prohibition system established by chapter 415 of the Acts of 1869.

Thus matters relating to the use of alcohol stood until May 1, 1875, when chapter 415 of the Acts of 1869 was repealed by chapter 99, Acts of 1875, which in turn provided for licenses to sell all kinds of alcoholic beverages. A new system was thus established, under which the use of alcoholic beverages was legally extended under a new licensed system. The volume of consumption increased under this system. So, too, did the human wreckage related thereto.

The "plateau" of the system operating during the years 1869 to 1875 ended with 1874, and the human wreckage which is incident to the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages again began to rise with the advent of "total license" in 1875, and continued until checked by the use of "local option," which was continuing to "dry up" a considerable portion of the State; and by the institution of specialized penal institutionalization, which came into operation through completion of the Reformatory for Women October 8, 1873, as to which see Annual Report of 1928, at page 55; also see Chart 102.

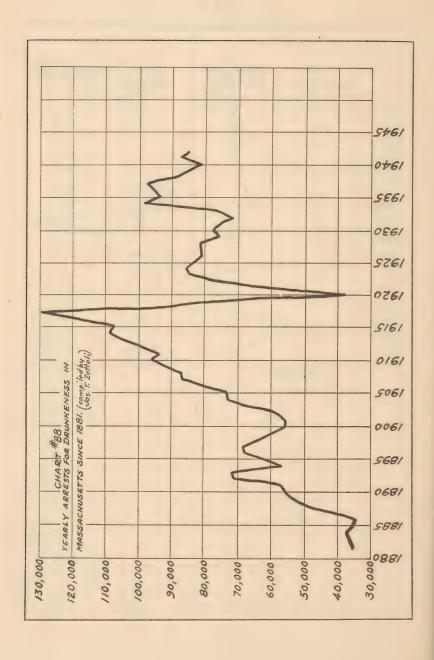
From this point on (1875) to 1890 about fifty pieces of legislation were passed by our Legislature, relating to the "Alcohol Beverage Field." In the meanwhile the State Farm at Bridgewater and the Massachusetts Reformatory began the "reformation of drunkards." About every measure and precaution that human ingenuity could conceive of were brought to bear on the problems arising out of the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages. It would unduly lengthen this report to set out all these measures. We have briefed them and they are available if need be later. The important point is that the volume of "human break down" constantly increased, under this license period, notwithstanding all the so-called preventives and precautions that were utilized through legislative enactments and social and religious activity.

The charts showing the trends for this period clearly demonstrate that the upward trends in arrests, commitments and prison population did "falter" and then "fall backward" some, when "local option" caused a decreased consumption, or "stiff sentencing" by the courts prevented recidivism. (See charts 25, 88, 89, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.)



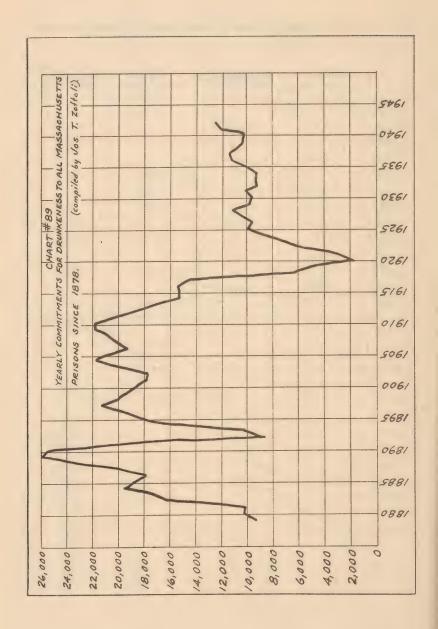
GRAPH 25.

	HIGH POINTS.		. Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1867	6,270	494.8	_	_
1868	-	~	5,738	393.7
1870-72	9,327	640.0	-	-
1877-78	- 1	~	5,184	290.7
1883-84	12,226	629.5	-	-
1886	_	-	10,298	530.2
1889	16,313	728.7	-	-
1892	-	-	3,590	160.4
1896-97	20,359	814.3	-	-
1900-02	-	-	11,523	410.8
1917	50,535	1,368.3	-	-
1020	-	-	13,748	356.9
1028	20,513	482.7	-	-
1930	-	-	17,520	412.3
1937	23,933	550.1	-	-
1942	_	-	20,072	465.0



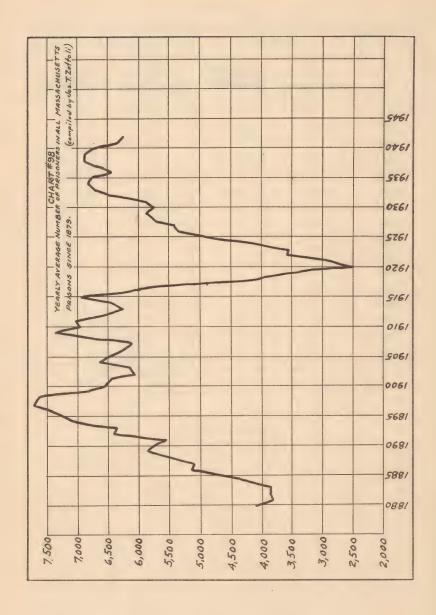
GRAPH 88.

YEAR.	Ніон І	POINTS.	Low Points.	
	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1882-86	-	-	36,130	1,860.3
1892-93	71,179	2,847.0	- !	-
1894		-	56,039	2,241.4
1896-97	67,769	2,710.6	-	-
1900-01	-	-	55,464	1,977.1
1917	129,445	3,504.8	_ 1	-
1920	-	-	37,160	964.6
1923-24	85,078	2,052.9	-	-
1932	-	-	71,919	1,692.4
1934-37	96,309	2,213.5	-	
1940		-	80,812	1,872.1
1941	87,680	2,031.2	-	-
1942	-	-	84,972	1,968.4



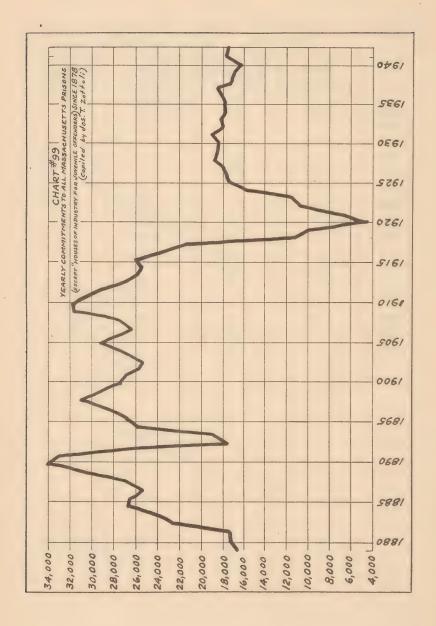
GRAPH 89.

	Нюн І	POINTS.	Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1879	_	and the second s	9,873	553.7
1884	19,565	1,007.4	_	-
0880	-	-	17,981	925.8
1889-90	25,782	1,151.8	_	-
1992	-	-	8,634	385.7
1897	21,443	857.6	-	-
1901-02	-	-	17,873	637.1
1904	21,719	723.1	-	_
1906	-	-	19,219	639.8
1909-10	21,941	651.8	-	-
1920	_	-	1,746	45.3
1928	11,004	258.9	-	
1932-34	-	_	9,205	211.6
1936-37	11,358	261.0	-	-
1940	-	-	10,220	236.8
1942	12,492	289.4	_	_



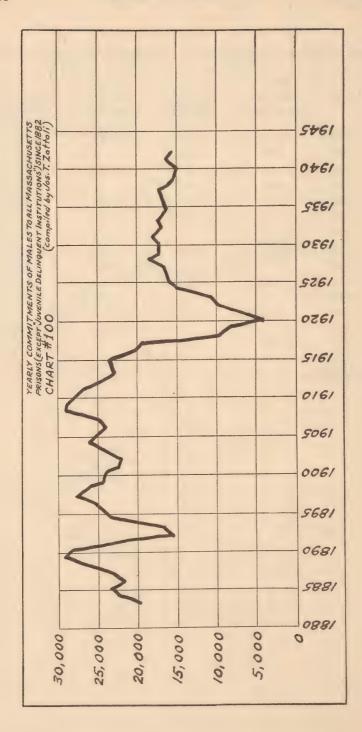
GRAPH 98.

	HIGH F	POINTS.	Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1880	4,107	230.3	_	_
1881-83		-	3,866	216.8
1897	7,740	309.6	-	_
1902-03	-	-	6,118	203.7
1904	6,633	220.8	-	-
1907	-	-	6,102	203.2
1909	7,392	219.6	-	
1913	-	-	6,233	168.8
1915	6,925	187.5	-	-
1920	-	-	2,499	64.9
1934	6,828	156.9	-	-
1936	-	-	6,446	148.2
1938-39	6,894	159.7	_	-
1942	-	-	6,246	144.7



GRAPH 99.

	High I	POINTS.	Low F	Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1879-81		-	16,871	946.2	
1889	34,094	1,523.1	-	-	
1892	-	~	17,851	797.4	
1897	31,352	1,254.0	-	-	
1902	-	-	25,527	909.9	
1904	29,694	988.6	-	-	
1906	-	-	26,899	895.5	
1908-09	32,152	955.1	-	-	
1920	-	-	4,377	113.6	
1928-31	19,018	447.5	-	-	
1934-35	_	-	18,087	415.7	
1937	18,992	436.5	-	-	
1940	-	-	16,749	388.0	
1941	18,125	419.9	-	-	
1942	_		17,786	412.0	



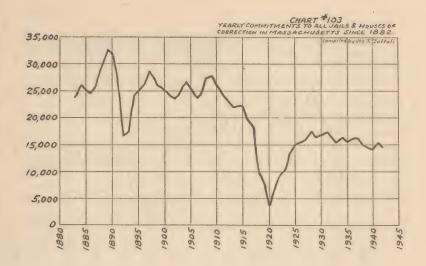
GRAPH 100.

YEAR.	HIGH POINTS.		Low Points.	
	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	_	-	19,780	1,018.5
1889	29,578	1,321.3	-	-
1892	-	-	15,408	688.3
1897	28,135	1,125.3	-	-
1902	-	-	22,592	805.3
1904	26,628	886.5	-	-
1906	-	-	24,219	806.3
1908	29,407	873.5	-	-
1920	-	-	4,006	104.0
1928	19,020	447.6	_	-
1940	-	-	15,761	365.1
1941	16,995	393.7	-	-
1942	-	-	16,469	381.5



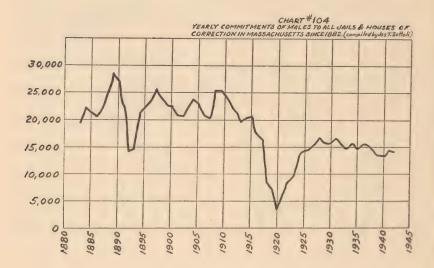
GRAPH 101.

	Нюн І	POINTS.	Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	4,345	223.7	_	All Andrews and Angel
1887	-	-	3,755	193.3
1889-90	4,468	99.6	-	-
1892-93	-	-	2,408	107.6
1897	3,227	129.1	-	-
1903	-	-	2,885	96.0
1904	3,066	102.1	-	-
1907	-	-	2,513	83.7
1909	2,957	87.8	-	-
1914	-	-	2,161	58.5
1915	2,422	65.6	-	-
1920	-	-	371	9.6
1928	1,030	24.2	-	-
1931	-	-	704	16.6
1937	1,244	28.6	-	-
1940	-	_	988	22.9
1942	1,317	30.5	_	_



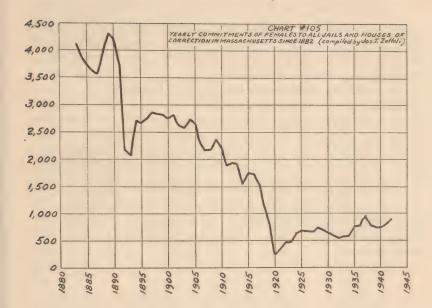
GRAPH 103.

	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	_	_	23,605	1,215.4
1884	26,167	1,347.3		-
1888	-	-	24,260	1,249.1
1889-90	32,489	1,451.4	-	
1892-93	•	-	16,701	668.0
1897	28,755	1,150.1	-	-
1902	-	-	23,228	828.0
1904	26,691	888.6	-	-
1906	_	-	23,299	775.7
1908-09	27,668	821.9	-	-
1920	-	-	3,604	93.6
1928	17,580	413.7	-	-
1942	-	_	14,978	347.0



GRAPH 104.

	HIGH I	HIGH POINTS.		Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1183	_	_	19,485	1,003.3	
1884	22,300	1,148.2	-	-	
1886	-	-	20,658	1,063.7	
1889-90	28,225	1,260.9		-	
1892-93	-	-	14,404	576.1	
1897	25,878	1,035.0	_	-	
1901-02	-	-	20,772	740.4	
1904	23,941	797.0	-	-	
1907	-	-	20,092	668.9	
1908-09	25,404	754.6		_	
1920	-	-	3,370	87.5	
1928	16,845	396.4	-	-	
1942	-	_	14,097	326.6	



GRAPH 105.

	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low P	OINTS.
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	4,120	212.1	_	_
1887	-	~	3,556	183.1
1889-90	4,264	190.5	-	-
1892-93	-	-	2,108	94.2
1897-01	2,818	100.4	-	-
1907-08	-	-	2,152	63.9
1909	2,773	82.4	-	-
1920	-	-	234	6.1
1928	735	17.3	-	-
1932	-	-	532	12.5
1937	953	21.9	-	-
1939-40	-	-	717	16.6
1942	881	20.4	-	_

A notable illustration of this took place in the period of 1890 to 1892 when the combination of "local option" dry vote and heavy sentencing by the courts produced a marked regression in all the trends related to alcoholism. See the aforesaid charts showing the trends for this period.

See also the observations made by Governor John Q. A. Brackett, in his inaugural address in the year 1890. The observations there made by the Governor are worthy of repetition. They aid in understanding how preventive measures combined with a proper use of penological measures can very beneficially affect the volume of destruction caused by alcoholism. The following is a quotation from the Governor's address, above referred to. It plainly shows the "temper" of the citizens of our Commonwealth at that period, and establishes a valuable contemporary factor which aids in interpreting the trends on the charts above referred to.

#### LIQUOR LEGISLATION. 1

In April last an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage, having been agreed to by two consecutive Legislatures, was submitted to the people for their ratification. While the rejection of the amendment indicates that public sentiment does not now favor the method therein proposed for remedying the manifold evils which result from the liquor traffic, it is not to be inferred therefrom that the people fail to realize the magnitude of those evils, or are indisposed to do all that is practicable by legal means for their mitigation.

Under the existing local-option law the sale of intoxicating liquor is absolutely prohibited in all the towns and cities in the State except in those whose citizens vote to license such sale. Under this law during the past year, of the 351 towns and cities, 288 voted against and only 63 in favor of licenses. If the towns vote this year the same as last, after the first of May we shall have absolute prohibition in over four fifths of the towns and cities of the Commonwealth. Of the 25 cities voting upon the subject last month, 13 voted in favor of licensing and 12 against; while in 1888, 18 voted in favor and 7 against, showing a gain of 5 to the no-license column. The majority of the popular vote in favor of license in these cities in 1889 was 8,223; the majority in the same in 1888 being 30,348, a reduction in such majority in 1889 of 22,125.

These figures afford encouragement to all who oppose the license system. Even in the comparatively few towns and cities voting to grant licenses, the restrictive features of the present law make it largely prohibitory. Under the limitation act of 1888 only 1 license can be granted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From Inaugural Address of His Excellency, John Q. A. Brackett, 1890.

in Boston for every 500, and in other cities and in towns only 1 for 1,000 inhabitants.

Sales in these towns and cities are prohibited between the hours of eleven at night and six in the morning on every week day, at all times during the Sabbath, on all election days and on legal holidays, except in certain cases by druggists and by licensed innholders to their guests. They are prohibited in any building within four hundred feet of a public school, and in any building within twenty-five feet of any real estate the owner of which duly objects to the granting of a license therefor. Every license to sell liquor to be drunk on the premises is subject to the condition that the licensee shall not keep a public bar, and shall hold a license as an innholder or common victualer; and this latter he is not entitled to hold unless actually carrying on the business specified. The meaning of the law clearly is that, while liquor may be sold by a licensed dealer, like other merchandise, to be carried away, it shall not be sold to be drunk on the premises except in hotels and restaurants. The obvious intent is to do away with the dramshop and the public bar, and only to allow the licensed proprietors of hotels and restaurants, as incidental to their principal business as such, to furnish liquor to their bona fide guests.

If, therefore, the present law, prohibitory as it is in over 82 per cent of our towns and cities, and thus restrictive in all the others, is thoroughly enforced, as it should be, it will confine liquor selling in Massachusetts within comparatively narrow limits. If further laws are needed to prevent evasions of its letter and spirit, and more effectually to carry out its intent, I trust that you will enact them. To do all that is possible to secure the complete enforcement of this, as well as of all other laws, is the manifest duty of those entrusted with either the legislative or the executive functions of the government. Such enforcement furnishes the best test of the merits or defects of an existing law, and points out the way for such improvements as promise more effectually to accomplish the objects for which it is enacted.

From the year 1890 to 1917 our Legislature passed more than sixty more measures designed to strengthen license, or, perchance, to aid the licensee from "some of the burdens" that he was required to bear by previous legislation. Here, again, we deem it unnecessary to specifically set these out in this report. It should be noted that in addition to these measures, action in "hospitalization" of the inebriate was also brought to bear in an effort to solve the problems incidental to alcoholism. We will survey this activity later in considerable detail. The so-called "pledge" system was also put into renewed operation in this period. It will later be shown that private "Homes" or "Retreats" were also giving their attention to "curing" the addict. Moreover,

general hospitals and asylums for the insane also were giving some of their attention to relieve the "acute alcoholic."

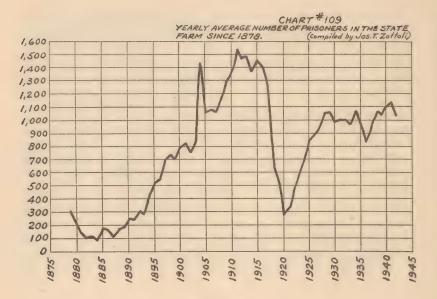
All of these segments of the "license system," together with the powerful force of religious and charitable institutions, were working to prevent inebriety and to salvage the inebriate during all the period from 1890 through 1917.

What was the effect of all this? Look at the charts once more. Chart 25 shows a steady rise in trends from 1892 to 1897, when a similar situation to that of 1890 took place. In 1893 the "release law" was "tightened up." (See c. 414 of the Acts of 1893, requiring "releases" to be reported to the court.) The "fine system" was also restored in 1893. The first admission to the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates took place in 1893. What was the effect of this so-called humanitarian treatment? See charts 25, 88, 102, 104 and 105 heretofore referred to, and to charts 106, 109, 116 and 123 which follow:



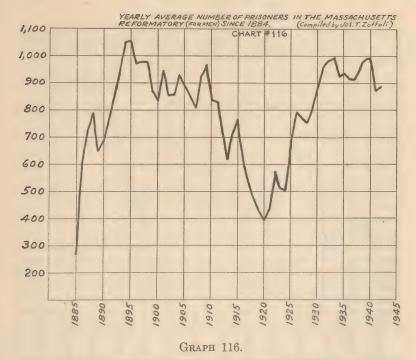
GRAPH 106.

	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low Points.	
YEAR.	Number er Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	184	9.5	_	-
1884	-	-	139	7.2
1885	366	18.8	_	-
1887	-	-	179	9.2
1898	1,518	54.1	-	-
1899-01	-	-	1,308	46.6
1911	3,940	117.0	-	-
1920	-	-	370	9.6
1925-28	1,530	36.9	-	-
1930-32	-	-	1,360	32.0
1934	1,728	39.7	-	-
1936	-	-	1,391	32.0
1937	1,764	40.5		-
1938	-	-	1,602	37.1
1941	1,961	45.4	-	-
1942	-	-	1,805	41.8



GRAPH 109.

	High I	Points.	Low Points.			
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.		
1879	309	17.3	_	_		
1884	-	_	80	4.1		
1885	188	9.7	_	-		
1887	-		116	6.0		
1901	837	29.8	_	-		
1902	-	en.	745	26.6		
1904	1,442	48.0	-	-		
1905-07	-	_	1,066	35.5		
1911	1,549	46.0	-			
1914	-		1,368	37.0		
1915	1,463	39.6		-		
1920	_	-	275	7.1		
1928-29	1,064	25.0	_	_		
1933	-	_	975	22.4		
1934	1,082	24.9	_	-		
1936	_	-	826	19.0		
1941	1,142	26.4	-	-		
1942	_		1,029	23.8		



	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low Points.			
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.		
1885	_	_	265	13.6		
1888	792	35.4	-	-		
1889	-	-	648	28.9		
1894-95	1,035	41.4	_	_		
1900	-	-	835	29.8 - 28.5		
1901	939	33.5	-			
1902-03	-	-	856 .			
1904	932	31.0	_			
1907	_	_	805	26.8		
1909	968	28.8	-	_		
1913	_	-	617	16.7		
1915	766	20.7	_	_		
1920	-	-	398	10.3		
1933	966	22.2	-	_		
1934-37	-	-	922	21.2		
1940	993	23.0	-	ands.		
1941	-	-	876	20.3		
1942	887	20.5	_	-		



GRAPH 123.

	Нісн 1	POINTS.	Low Points.		
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.  Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.		Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1875	-	_	695	42.1	
1879	770	43.2	_	-	
1884	-	-	561	28.9	
1898-09	1,725	57.4	-	-	
1920	_	-	808	21.0	
1933-39	1,829	42.0	-	-	
1942	_	-	1,600	37.1	

Note how the trends changed to an upward steady rise to 1897. Again the question, Why? Then note the drop in the flow from 1897 to 1900, when a new plateau is reached at a much lower level than that of 1897. Why?

From the year 1902 on to the year 1917 the charts show a steady increase in the yearly arrests for drunkenness. (See said charts 25 and 102). But most of the other charts above referred to show a rather level "plateau" of the average yearly prison population of the jails and houses of correction, and indeed of all prisons from the year 1895 to 1917. Why should there be this variation between the trends in the arrests for drunkenness and the yearly average number of commitments; and that also of the average yearly population?

The answer is obvious. A large segment of the persons arrested for drunkenness were not being redeemed by any of the treatments which were brought to bear upon it — penological, medical, religious or otherwise. The regularity in the number who annually required detention is mute evidence that the system operating over the period from 1902 to 1917 had reached a sort of impasse in preventing inebriety and in salvaging the drunkard.

The fact that the arrests increased by "leaps and bounds" over this period, while the average prison population ran along a level course year after year, is strong evidence that serious recidivism was taking place, and that "chronics" and "rounders" were being favored by frequent releases and thus were being "manufactured" by the system intended to "cure" them. It was the system that was faulty. True, it did everything that should have been expected of it, but it could not do the impossible. What it lacked was the means of "early action" that we have talked so much about.

Now let us look at the charts again and note the marvelous drop in all their trends, from the year 1917 to 1920. What caused this revolutionary change? If we study medical and social charts we will note similar trends for this period. It will be noted that in 1860 we had "a war plus prohibition." Similar trends in arrests for drunkenness and prison population then occurred, as happened in 1920.

In 1890 we had a "local option war" that netted beneficial results. In 1898 we had the Spanish American War and a "local option war" but not "prohibition," and the results in arrests for drunkenness resembled those of the "local option war" of 1890. In 1919 we had World War I plus prohibition, and with it came

the change in trends to the "all time low" of 1920. This was followed by nullification, and we witness a corresponding rise, but to a lower "plateau" than that of the 1895–1917 period. Then followed "repeal" in 1933 and we witness a sharp rise in trends. This period was in turn followed by World War II without prohibition but with "local option," and we note that the trends are about similar to those of 1898.

What sobered the people in those periods in which we had a "war plus prohibition" so much more than did the periods when we had similar wars without prohibition? The answer is again plain.

The thing that makes people inebriates, alcoholic beverage, was lacking to a greater extent in the "prohibition periods" than it was in the "license periods." If further evidence is needed to make this fact clear, examine the personal charts of addicts compiled by Judge Zottoli and note how even the common drunks were sobered up in the "early years of the prohibition period brought about by the passage of the 18th Amendment.

One of these charts, typical of many others, will suffice to illustrate this point. Many of these charts show that "common drunks" were so sober in most of the period 1919 to 1933 that they seldom had to be committed for drunkenness during that entire period. But when "repeal" came back they reverted to their old ways and had to be repeatedly institutionalized.

The following chart, with the record attached, speaks for itself. The rest of the charts are available if wanted.

YEAR	JAN	FEB					JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DE
1901												
1902					-							
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910					2-14		R	1				
1911				J	22					R	F	
1912		M		S.F.		-	M JA				S.F.	
1913	S	f i				P	-	1-1-1		S.	F.	
1914		2-M			S.F.		F	RET	To	S.F.		8
1915		S.	ř		F	F 2.4		P				
1916		FP	-		\$10	F 3-M				S.E.		
1917		-	PFF	2		RP	R	FP	F		S.F.	
1918	SF		SF 55	,,,,,,,,	FSF	7//////			F SF		FS	
1919	S		VIIIN	<b>=</b> / <b>Y</b> / <b>Y</b> //	\$\$\$/ <i>\</i>	73////						_
1920								5				-
1921								R				_
1922												_
1923					RR	11/14/	P	15//		FP		
1924					FP //	X4/X//	1405	A 1/2				
1925							P					_
1926												-
1927								50		80		-
1928		R					P I-M	RR	= ISF		F	-
1929		P		dr	FP	P 1-M	P 1-M F 55	FF	图景	SCP P 1-M		F
1930	主	·M 3		\$15 S.ct		P 55			D	P I-M	11/1/2	1111
1931	111112	2///	7227	(1/1/1	////		F		PF	56 V/Y	<del>5777</del> 5/79	1555
1932	////2	79/1/	17/1/	14/9/5/	Y/AE	3-14	JA		R			-
1933				<u>I-M</u> SS		V////	11114	411.01	111112	4////	11111	1111
1934	111442	12/1/20	77777	77	- 0	1-M 55	VIIIV	<i>571177</i>	//////////////////////////////////////	왕 F	5/19/	//// M
1935		XXX (7)	1493	R	FP	55	2-M	-	R		EVAK	
1936	155	77744	VAUE	1///5	4////	11/1/2	5/7/	77111		11/1	111111	7.5,
1937			7477			770	9.71				111/1	
1938												1//
1939		TO THE X	IN EG	URY	11/2	PATE	140	SPIT	AT KY	3/56	1927	142
1940		1111111	and the fresh and	part of the						1/////		
1941		JAN,	18,19	11/1/								
1942												
1943	1////	11/1//	11/11/1	1////	1/////	1////	1/////	V/////	(/////	1////	1////	1///

# Personal Chart 151-Z.

### Penological Record.

Female; born in 1871; lived under sixteen different aliases; at various times lived at twenty different addresses, mostly in Metropolitan Boston, and mostly in the South End.

4	YO TY	~ 111		
Apr. 20, 1910	DK	Somerville		3 mos. H. C.
July 20, 1910	DK			Rel.
Sept. 28, 1910	DK	Central		10 dys. H. C.
Apr. 17, 1911	DK	Cambridge		30 dys. H. C.
Oct. 3, 1911	DK			RPO
Nov. 14, 1911	DK	Central		On file
Jan. 22, 1912	DK	41	1-24	1 mo. H. C.
		4.6	1-24	
Feb. 24, 1912	DK	44		State Farm
May 25, 1912	DK			4 mos. jail
Oct. 14, 1912	DK	44		State Farm
June 27, 1913	DK	+ 6		Prob. 1-7-14
July 31, 1913	DK	44		On file
July 31, 1913	DK Sur.	44		1 mo. H. C.
Aug. 30, 1913	DK	6.6		St. Farm
Jan. 24, 1914	DK	44		2 mos. H. C.
Apr. 19, 1914	DK	6.6		St. Farm
	DK			
July 21, 1914		4.		File; ret. St. Farm
Dec. 4, 1914	DK	66	12-7	St. Farm
May 10, 1915	DK		5-12	On file
Aug. 3, 1915	DK	6.6		Prob. 2-9-16
Feb. 6, 1916	DK	4.6		On file
Feb. 6, 1916	DK Sur.	+ 4		Prob. 8-9-16
May 4, 1916	DK	Chasn.		\$10.
June 10, 1916	DK Sur.	Central		Prob. 12-20-16
June 10, 1916	DK	11		On file
June 13, 1916	DK	16	6-19	On file
		64	0-19	
June 13, 1916	DK Sur.	4.		3 m. CJSS; pr. 12-27-16
June 20, 1916	DK	44		On file
June 20, 1916	DK Sur.	44		3 mos. C. J.
Aug. 10, 1916	DK			St. Farm
Mar. 10, 1917	DK	4.6	3-13	Prob. 9-12-17
Mar. 31, 1917	DK	4.6		On file
Mar. 31, 1917	DK Sur.	4.4	4-4	On file
Apr. 5, 1917	DK	4 6		2 mos. jail
May 29, 1917	DK	44		RPO
June 6, 1917	DK	6.6	6-11	Prob. 12-12-17
July 6, 1917	DK	4.6	0 11	RPO
	DK	44		
Aug. 30, 1917		4.4		On file
Aug. 30, 1917	DK Sur.			Prob. 2-27-18
Sept. 5, 1917	DK	41		On file
Sept. 5, 1917	DK Sur.			10 dys. H. C.
Oct. 1, 1917	DK	4.6		St. Farm
Mar. 17, 1918 ·	DK	44	3-19	St. Farm SS; pr. 9-18-18
May 7, 1918	DK	+1		On file
May 7, 1918	DK Sur.	4.4		St. Farm SS; pr. 11-6-18
Sept. 21, 1918	DK	4.6	9-25	On file
Sept. 21, 1918	DK Sur.	4.6	9-25	St. Farm SS; pr. 3-26-19
Nov. 8, 1918	DK Du.	44	0 40	On file
Nov. 8, 1918	DK Sur.	4.6	11-11	
		44	11-11	St. Farm
Aug. 17, 1921	DK	•6	8-22	RPO
Aug. 18, 1921	DK	4.	8-22	Filed
May 16, 1923	DK			RPO
May 27, 1923	DK	4.4		RPO

July 2, 1923	DK	Central		Prob. 1-2-24
Oct. 14, 1923	DK	4.6		On file
Oct. 14, 1923	DK Sur.	6.0		Prob. 4-16-24 Dism.
May 11, 1924	DK	* 6		On file
May 17, 1924	DK	44		Prob. 11-19-24
Aug. 30, 1924	DK	8.6		On file
Aug. 30, 1924	DK Sur.	64		Prob. 3-4-25 Dism.
July 26, 1925	DK	4.6		Prob. 1-27-26 Dism.
Feb. 24, 1928	DK	4+		RPO
Aug. 1, 1928	DK	44		RPO
Aug. 6, 1928	DK	So. Boston		Rel.
Nov. 5, 1928	DK	Central	11-10; 11-13	On file
Feb. 18, 1929	DK	44		Prob. 8-21-29
May 6, 1929	DK	44		On file
May 6, 1929	DK Sur.	**	5-8	Prob. 11-6-29
July 1, 1929	DK			File
July 1, 1929	DK Sur.			1 m. JSS; pr. 12-31-29
Aug. 3, 1929	DK			On file
Aug. 3, 1929	DK Sur.	**		1 m JSS; pr. 2-5-30
Aug. 12, 1929	DK DE C	**		On file
Aug. 12, 1929	DK Sur.	44		1 mo. jail
Sept. 12, 1929	DK			St. Farm; ap.
Oct. 9, 1929	DK	Suf. Sup.		Prob. 6 mos.
Dec. 9, 1929	DK	Central	1-21	On file
Jan. 20, 1930	DK	44		2 mos. jail
Mar. 22, 1930	DK Sur.			3 dys. jail
May 12, 1930	DK	Suf. Sup.		\$15. pd.
June 20, 1930	DK	Central	10.00	1 m JSS; pr. 12–17–30
Oct. 18, 1930	DK Sur.	6.6	10-20	On file
Oct. 18, 1930 July 14, 1931	DK Sur.	44		1 m JSS; pr. 4-22-31 Dism. On file
July 15, 1931	DK	44		10 dys. jail
Aug. 3, 1931	DK	6.6		10 dys. jail
Sept. 26, 1931	DK	44		Prob. 3-30-32 Def.
Sept. 29, 1931	DK	Camb.		On file
May 26, 1932	DK	Central		On file
May 26, 1932	DK PDW	"		3 mos. jail
Sept. 26, 1932	DK	Central		RPO
Apr. 23, 1934	DK	11		1 m JSS; pr. 10-24-34 Dism.
Apr. 22, 1935	DK	44		RPO
May 11, 1935	DK	4.6		Filed
June 29, 1935	DK	44		1 m JSS; pr. 12-31-35
Aug. 19, 1935	DK	4.6		Filed
Aug. 19, 1935	DK Sur.	44		1 mo. jail
Sept. 19, 1935	DK	4.4		2 m JSS; pr. 3-18-36
Oct. 28, 1935	DK	44		Filed
Oct. 28, 1935	DK Sur.	6.6		2 m JSS; pr. 4-29-36
Nov. 12, 1935	DK	4.6		Filed
Nov. 12, 1935	DK Sur.	44		2 mos. jail
Jan. 11, 1936	DK	4.4		2 m JSS; pr. 7-8-36
June 25, 1936	DK Sur.	4.4		2 mos. jail
Aug. 2, 1936	DK	44	9-3	Prob. 3-3-37
Sept. 8, 1936	DK	So. Boston		RPO
Nov. 26, 1937	DK	Central		Prob. 5-25-38-
				(Tewksbury St. Hospital) Dism.

Oct. 17, 1940: Was informed at the Department of Public Welfare at the State House that this defendant is still a patient at the Tewksbury State Hospital suffering from alcoholism and arteriosclerosis. MAS:HVM

Record complete to August 19, 1943. CMD

### Hospitalization Record.

### Boston City Hospital:

Oct. 29, 1928 to Nov. 4, 1928. Fracture, right malar bone, alcoholism (admitted in intoxicated condition).

Sept. 30, 1931 to Oct. 10, 1931. Lacerated scalp, fracture first left finger, arthritis, alcoholism.

Sept. 15, 1936 to Sept. 23, 1936. Numerous contusions and lacerations and head injury (concussion) — claimed she was beaten up.

### Boston City Hospital — Out-Patient Department:

Sept. 6, 1936. Contusions of face and head, alcoholism.

### Long Island Hospital:

May 19, 1924 to Aug. 26, 1924. Hypertension and periodic alcoholism.

### Tewskbury State Hospital:

Mar. 3, 1919 to July 1, 1919. Gonnorrhea.
Oct. 9, 1931 to May 25, 1932. Arthritis.
June 12, 1934 to Apr. 11, 1935. Arteriosclerosis.
Oct. 13, 1936 to Nov. 6, 1937. Hypertension with decompensation.
Nov. 26, 1937 to January.

Still in Tewksbury when last checked, Jan. 18, 1944.

It is fundamental that the volume of inebriety increases and decreases with the volume of intoxicating liquor that the intemperate person is able to acquire. Without alcoholic beverages there can be no drunkenness caused thereby. This field was explored by Judge Zottoli in 1938, in an article entitled "The Problem of Alcoholism in the Courts," where, on page 4, charts and variations are shown.

It follows from what we have said that it seems inpractical to have laws to prohibit the use of alcohol for beverage purposes, not because such legislation would not be effective if observed by the people, but rather, because the majority of the people are evidently not in favor of prohibition and therefore in all probability are not ready for the passage of such a law; and further, because we feel that it is more practical to first try other measures which we feel public opinion should favor, and which, if observed by the public, ought to favorably operate in preventing a large part of the inebriety which flows from the system we are now operating under. We tried the 18th Amendment. It is evident by what happened in 1920 that it did not fail the people; but from the action of the people thereafter, it is plain that the

people failed it, and that public opinion is no different now than then. Many of the conditions that preceded the passage of prohibition (as to which see the report of the National Commission on Law Observance, pages 3 to 7, inclusive) are now plaguing the people of our Commonwealth. These require firm and resolute action, but before we survey these in detail let us go back and follow the part that hospitalization has played in its attempt to salvage the inebriate in our Commonwealth.

## Chapter VI.

HISTORY OF HOSPITALIZATION AND SPECIAL INSTITUTIONALIZA-TION OF ALCOHOLICS.

The history of hospitalization for alcoholism shows that the concept of "curing" drunkards by hospital treatment rather than by penological methods is not novel. Dr. Thomas D. Crothers, an able observer, and former editor of the "Journal of Inebriety," and secretary of the American Association for the Cure of Inebriates, in a lecture delivered October 2, 1888, at Toronto, Canada, gave a fair appraisal of conditions as viewed in the "light" of his time. As to the history of hospitalization of inebriates, he pointed out that "Asylums and hospitals for the treatment and cure of inebriates are only modern applications of truths asserted centuries ago. Ulpian, the Roman jurist. in the second century of the Christian era, urged the necessity of treating inebriates as sick and diseased, in special surroundings, with special means. Other authorities endorsed these views and asserted that the State should recognize the veritable madness of drunkards and treat them as such."

In 1747 Condillac of France wrote that the State should provide special hospitals for "drink maniacs," and urged a change of law and public sentiment to this end. Dr. Rush of Philadelphia, in 1790, Dr. Cabanis of Paris, in 1802, Professor Platner of Leipsic, in 1809, Salvatore of Moscow, in 1817, Esquirol of France, in 1818, Buhl Cramner of Berlin, in 1882, all urged the need of physical restraint and treatment of the inebriate as sick and diseased, in places especially provided for this class. In 1830 the Connecticut Medical Society appointed a committee to report on the need of an asylum for the medical treatment of the inebriates. In 1833 Dr. Woodward of the Worcester Insane Asylum, in Massachusetts, urged that inebriety be recognized as a disease and special hospitals provided for its treatment. In 1844 the English Lunacy Commission urged that inebriates be regarded as insane, and sent to asylums for special treatment. These are only a few of the more prominent references to inebriate asylums, although many other writers urged the same views in different ways.

The history of the "rise," "life" and "fall" of special insti-

tutions for the treatment of alcohol addiction since 1830 has been recently explored by E. H. L. Corwin, Ph.D., New York, and Elizabeth M. Cunningham, also of New York. This survey is reported in the Quart. J. Stud. Alc. Vol. 5, 9-85. It covers many of the institutions throughout Europe and America, and gives a lengthy and rather detailed history of the early institutions as also of the more modern hospitals. We do not deem it necessary to specifically set out in detail our views with reference to the validity of reasons given by contemporary observers for the success or failure, wholly or partially, of such institutions which are located outside of Massachusetts in solving the problems for which they were established. It will suffice to point out that the plan of action followed in the most successful of those "homes" or "retreats" or "hospitals" followed that with which "the Massachusetts concept" was experimenting, and that they, too, met a fate which was equally disastrous. This will more clearly appear when we review the history of the attempts made by our Commonwealth to make hospitalization solve the problem of alcohol addiction. It may be useful for a better understanding of the extent of this failure to further point out that the Corwin-Cunningham Survey in the year 1944, above referred to, at page 36, states that "at the present time there are no tax-supported institutions devoted entirely to the treatment of alcohol addiction, although at one time, New York City, Massachusetts, Iowa, Minnesota and Connecticut maintained establishments of the hospital-farm-colony type for this purpose. All of these ceased functioning as institutions solely for alcoholics with the advent of the Volstead Act, except the Inebriate Farm in Connecticut, which did not discontinue these services until 1941." The implications of the fact that they discontinued "with the advent of the Volstead Act" will be discussed later.

It is obvious from the literature relating to the problems of alcoholism that the "Massachusetts experiment" with hospitalization for the inebriate was the model for the action which was taken along similar lines not only in the United States, but also throughout Europe and parts of South America, — a fact which is strong evidence that propaganda, whether factual or otherwise, is effective with the unwary, especially in fields not scientifically established. The fact that many of these hospitals expired in a similar manner is some evidence that they were afflicted with a weakness common to all of them.

The propaganda of the early days of psychiatry, to the effect that "many, very many" drunkards, "no matter how hardened,"

could be cured by "religious and moral suasion," coupled with kindly treatment and timely shelter, was the motivating idea which led to the establishment of the "Home for the Fallen" in Boston on May 1, 1858. The introductory statement of its first report shows what it hoped to accomplish. It reads as follows:

Whereas, the evils of intemperance have become co-extensive with man-desolating the hearth, rending the family circle, bringing misery and grief to the hearts of the wife and children, severing the bonds of love and affection, destroying all in men that is good and lovely, and has made such fearful progress in this, our otherwise happy land: and believing that many, very many, of our fellow citizens can be redeemed and regenerated from this odious and blighting vice by means of sympathy, encouragement and love, we adopt and agree to be governed by the following Constitution. (See Report of the Association of "the Home for the Fallen," Boston, May 1, 1858. To be found in our State Library.)

Out of this beginning came the Washingtonian Home, established by an act of incorporation in March of 1858. The "first great principle of the Home was that the drunkard may be saved. . . . This was to be accomplished, so they professed, by the miracle of love which was begun by Christ and has been repeated daily ever since wherever Divine example has been followed. No restraint is put upon the patient." (See Annual Reports, Washingtonian Home, 1859–1863.)

By 1862 the Home authorities apparently lost some faith in the miracle theory, for Dr. Stokes, the then superintendent of the Home, found that there were Oinomaniacs (wine maniacs). In the report of the Home for that year he stated:

We have likewise no hesitation in comprehending twenty-one of the admissions the past year under the term Oinomaniacs. The existence of such a form of insanity is still far from being generally conceded. But when we see a person surrounded by every inducement to pursue the path of rectitude and sobriety, delivering himself up with fury to the abuse of stimulants, which no advice, no reproach, no prayers, no threats, no authority, no experience can correct, or alleviate; who converts everything in his possession, his coat, his hat, or boots, into brandy, who manifests that insensibility to truth and rectitude and self-respect which are so frequently the characteristics of the confirmed inebriate. surely there must be at the bottom of this moral debasement and degradation a disease which needs but favorable circumstances to insure its complete and permanent relief. There must be a disease in this inordinate appetite which sets religion and reason to defiance, and which sad experience too infrequently displays the total inefficiency of conscience and intellect to subdue and extinguish. With such facts as these we need

be at no loss how to act, feeling convinced that an insanity is fully established, and that nothing short of personal control and a human curative treatment pursued for a considerable period of time under such control will overcome the craving for strong drinks and perhaps effect permanent reclamation. Certainly we have no just grounds for regarding oinomaniacs as incurable. We have abundant reasons for adopting the belief that were this propensity recognized and treated as a disease, and were the treatment based upon the removal of the physical conditions upon which it so often depends - upon abstinence and the establishment of new habits, pursuits and associations, persevered in for a sufficiently long time - it would be found as amenable to such remedies and as eradicable as other forms of unhealthy impulses. . . . In view of such facts the day cannot be far distant when our Legislatures and courts of law will interpose their authority, and subject such persons to the same disabilities as are the insane. . . . Then may we engage in a work of humanity without infringing upon the rights of the individual, and may we hope to diminish the ravages of vice that now involves its thousands in wretchedness and ruin.

We have cited this rather lengthy quotation because it reveals that even in the days when "bleeding," etc., was still the practice among doctors, there were those who, without the modern aids of biochemistry and histology, were beginning to understand that the central nervous system was involved in the breakdowns which they so often perceived. Furthermore, it also reveals what psychiatrists "in embryo" were talking about regarding "the disease of inebriety," — namely, that by long treatment it could be cured "like other diseases."

It is important to bear in mind that the annual reports of the Washingtonian Home were required by legislative mandate (see c. 57, Acts of 1863), as a part of the legislation which favored the Home with an annual allowance to aid it in treating alcoholics on a "free basis." In this manner these reports brought home to the members of the Legislature and the Governors and their Councils the thoughts therein set forth. Contemporary medical literature conformed with much of the thought expressed in these reports. Here was an honest and careful observer for his times, but evidently mistaken as to the extent of the "curing ability" of long periods of detention. Other doctors of his time supported his views, severely criticizing the "miracle" or "religious experience" theory.

See Dr. William Farr's Statement in the 39th Annual Report of the Register General (England) reported also in Eclectic Med. J., 38: 534 (1878), and see an editorial entitled "A Philoso-

phy of Medicine" in the Eclectic Med. J., 43: 139, which summarizes the medical point of view, in 1883, in substance, as follows:

Let us understand, once and for all, that there is nothing supernatural either in disease, the action of remedies, or means of cure. No man is possessed of a devil, an unclean spirit, or affected by Almighty. Men are sick because they or their parents have violated the laws of life.

It is rather refreshing to note that by 1887 the medical opinion of those who alleged that "inebriety was a curable disease" did not go unchallenged by others of the medical profession who had a firmer grip on the realities of life. The following, a part of an editorial which appeared in 1887, demonstrates that medical science was advancing and casting aside the unfounded theories that were in the way of progress. The Eclectic Medical Journal, 42: 575, at 576, published this:

The drink problem cannot be solved by moral suasion or prohibition; it is a question for science and scientific study. In the march of progress beyond the noise and enthusiasm of temperance reformers, the great forces of civilization are seen recruiting inebriates along lines of causes and effects, as fixed as the motion of the stars. In the same range the scientists catch glimpses of the laws of prevention and cure, from which in slow measured steps inebriety and the evils can be reached, cured and prevented.

From the medical reports up to the year 1888, when the Massachusetts Legislature was finally "sold" the idea of trying out the experiment of hospitalizing the inebriate, it abundantly appears that the medical brethren were still at war with each other as to the proper treatment not only of inebriety but also of other diseases.

See editorial in the Eclectic Med. Journal, 47: 596, at 597, in 1887, to the effect that "we (eclectics) have driven bloodletting to the wall, we have rebuked the champions of the lowering treatment, we are thriving under an independent organization." On the other hand, Dr. Bowditch, a graduate of Harvard Medical School in the same year, relieved himself of the following: "I hold that Homœopathy and Eclecticism are the legitimate offsprings of the absurdities of the medical profession itself. The arrogant nonsense exhibited by the fathers in the so-called good old times of our art begat these two infinitesimal and eclectic idiots, as some of you may call them. Now I defy any one to read the various prescriptions laid down in that Pharmocopæia

(of 1833) without a feeling of hearty disgust at the absurd and heterogeneous compounds prepared for the use of the profession of that day." The doctor then proceeds to illustrate that the practice in his time in many ways was equally absurd. (See Eclectic Med. J. 47: 581.)

The true meaning of Dr. Bowditch's observations can be appreciated if one will read the remedies prescribed by the medical profession as reported by John Eberle, M.D., in 1 Practice of Medicine, at pages 302, 303 (1841), and then contrast this treatment with that described, recommended by Kenneth J. Tillotson, M.D., Psychiatrist in Chief, McLean Hospital, and Robert Fleming, M.D., Research Associate, McLean Hospital, in the New England Journal of Medicine, Vol. 217, No. 16, dated December, 1937. It is comforting to note how ably the matter of treatment is handled in the latter case, where the complexities of the problems of treatment are stated with refreshing frankness. The treatments for inebriety shown by a survey reported in March of 1942 in the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, Vol. II, No. 4, pages 716 to 798, in which Walter L. Voegtlin, M.D., and Frederick Lemere, M.D., reviewed the literature on "The Treatment of Alcohol Addiction."

However, let us leave the present treatment for inebriety and continue with the history of what led to "experimentation by hospitalization" in Massachusetts. One of the best studies of how "points of view" and "treatments" change with the establishment of scientific data lies in a review of the annual reports of the Washingtonian Home. Points of view often change with a change of the office of superintendent. After Dr. Stokes opined that "the age of miracles was past," and that the medical profession must look to science for progress, Dr. Day, who followed him as superintendent, handed Dr. Stokes a compliment by saying:

While I concur in the main with the writer's views, and while I find him more nearly approaching the proper methods of cure than the medical writers as a class approach, I do not share his dubious idea that "perhaps" a permanent reclamation may be effected. I know from years of devotion to the subject and from experience with some of the most uncompromising cases, now restored, under God, to their right minds, that there is hope for the most desperate and hopeless cases of inebriety. The records of the Washingtonian Home abound in such. Our Sunday and Tuesday evening meetings are attended by men who are literally as brands plucked from the burning. . . . Some of our most efficient and devoted auxiliaries are men who were wretched, de-

graded, past hope, past self-respect, groveling in intoxication and wretchedness and woe, who are now restored once more to society, to family, to friends, to business and to usefulness. Some of them, men, and be it remembered I am speaking of those who were regarded as the worst cases, who had for years been a burden to the earth, but are now in prosperous business — all are prosperous, happy and rejoicing. Further on I will endeavor to explain the method through which those who were dead are alive again.

By 1866, after he had taken a course at the Harvard Medical School, Dr. Day was not quite so positive about curing "even the worst cases" by "moral suasion" and without the necessity of confinement. In the Annual Report of 1866 we observe him quoting Dr. Hutchinson of Glasgow, as follows:

Medical science and pharmacy have never yet discovered a specific for drunkenness and probably never will. . . The general subject of inebriety has of late excited great interest in the public mind, and yet I think is very greatly misunderstood.

I believe no asylum can of its own efforts produce reform without the co-operative assistance of the patient. An honest desire to be cured, together with a willingness to assist in its accomplishment, is the true foundation of reform. . . . For the chronic drunk, it is necessary for the security of the public that he be deprived of the liberty which he abuses and perverts, and that he should be prevented from committing crimes instead of being punished, or should I rather say, being the object of vindictive infliction after he has perpetrated them. . . . The only chance of cure or alleviation is from attention to the health and abstinence from intoxicating liquors. Neither can be secured so long as the patient is at large.

It is apparent from his warm approval of Dr. Hutchinson's point of view that Dr. Day's original idea of "cure through a department of Christian philanthropy" had undergone considerable change. His endeavor to excuse the failures of the Washingtonian, and what he said in the Annual Report of the Home in 1866, in "Confession and Avoidance," is important evidence demonstrating the extent of previous exaggerations. We quote:

We had no record of past experience of other institutions, or the efforts of other men in this direction to warn or guide us by their failure or success, and our treatment was therefore, at first, somewhat empirical.

Here we find Dr. Day confessing his previous errors. To his credit it must be stated that he tried to keep in step with the best medical thought of his times. The method of treatment, by 1866, had materially changed. Dr. Day describes the treatment in full in his report, contained in the Annual Report of the Home in 1866. He concludes with these words:

In short, it is our rule that the foundation of all our efforts should be such medical treatment as will promote in the patient a healthy and vigorous action of all the organs of the body, thus indirectly by the close relationship between mind and body creating a moral tone and strengthening and invigorating the will. While the patient is thus improving in general health he is constantly acted upon by the various instances of which I have spoken that pervade the atmosphere of the Home, and which he cannot evade even were he disposed to do so.

This was "the collecting of so many men, all struggling for the same objective under the same roof — their familiar and constant intercourse with each other, and the reflex influence of one upon another which must naturally spring from such an association." It is interesting to note that practically all the "essentials" of Alcoholic Anonymous are contained in Dr. Day's description of the "follow up treatment," which he stated was "peculiar to it," and "could be found nowhere but in an institution like theirs."

Dr. Day, and those of his school, were creating a better "treatment," but it is to be observed that his idea "of curing all the affected organs" was also rather "empirical," in the light of present scientific knowledge; especially so, in view of the limited services he then had resort to, and the fact that it appears from the report of that year (1866) that the average stay in the "hospital," which was little more than a lodging house, was twenty-four days. It is of interest to note that the Home also used the "pledge" system, which it inherited from the Washingtonian Society, "instituted in Boston on April 26, 1841, by John H. W. Hawkins and his associate, Mr. Wright, two reformed drunkards from Baltimore." (See Annual Reports of the Washingtonian Home, 1867.)

The annual report of the Home of 1868 published to the world and the Legislature that "it was a matter of congratulation and pride that our beloved Commonwealth gave birth to the first home for the inebriate ever instituted, and has given an example that has been successfully followed by other States and nations." This is undoubtedly the reason why the "retreats and homes" for inebriates of other States and nations came into being. A close study of their system of operation will show that it closely followed that of the Washingtonian Home. The statement that they were successful must be taken with reserve, in view of the sad outcome of many of them.

By this time the Washingtonian Home, and others in New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois, were rebroadcasting reports and literature to the effect that the "most desperate and confirmed inebriate may be cured of his evil and destructive habit by the course of moral, mental and physical treatment prosecuted at the Home." (See Annual Reports of the Washingtonian Home for the year 1868.)

The Home in 1869 changed its physician. The "new one" commented that "Our institution is not yet in the wholesome and competent condition that the necessities of the public demand," and that "nothing new or novel can be drawn from our history the past year. The method of management and treatment is the same as reported in past years." He further observed that "every one of these suffering and sorrowful fellow creatures, so diversely afflicted and so apparently helpless and hopeless, has been restored to health and a position to secure permanent happiness through the instrumental agencies of the Home." The policy of "curing the underlying diseases" was also abandoned. The Doctor expressed the new policy in this language:

Our specialty being the treatment and cure of intemperance, any attempt to treat other diseases would be as unjust to the suffering applicant as it would be impolitic for ourselves, more especially when there is no lack of charitable institutions in our city, where every disease can be carefully and skillfully attended to, if need be, without money and without price.

It is noted that two judges, seven lawyers, five physicians, two editors, one actor and two clergymen were included in the list of "patients" of that year. The report of the Home for 1870 is conspicuous by the statement of the superintendent that "every case of delirium tremens was restored to health, while the trustees report states that "fully one third of those treated will remain faithful to their obligation to be temperate." That year there were thirteen lawyers, five physicians, three judges, two actors, and two professors among the patients treated at the Home for inebriety.

The year 1871 was noted for another innovation in treatment.

A large number of outdoor patients, who having good homes, and kind friends to attend them, preferred to submit to so much of our treatment as could be safely administered at their residences, rather than enter the Home as boarders. To such we sent our remedies with proper directions, and, when occasion demanded, have despatched our physician to give personal attention to the patient. In every case success has

followed the treatment, and with trifling expense to the institution or the patients.

Here is a rather surprising assertion, in view of the statement appearing in later pages of their report, wherein the Home claimed —

more than one half of our patients have been, from various causes, obliged to leave too soon, having remained with us for less than two weeks; although in nearly every case restored to a good degree of physical health, yet their stay was not enough to insure a permanent reform. It requires months in most cases to reach the moral and mental ailments which it is our special aim to cure. . . . No bolts or bars are placed between him and perfect liberty. He is only put upon his honor to refrain from drink so long as he is under our care, and before we discharge him every effort is made to indoctrinate him with the true principles which may lead to total abstinence for life. Complete physical restoration is effected in from four days to as many weeks - in some cases, months - to accomplish this result. The body being well, the mind is then worked upon, showing by talk and by example. It must be a stolid and callous mind. indeed, that cannot gain daily strength and find continued incentives to form and fix a determined resolution to forever abstain from triffing with an enemy that never has and never can be beaten except by being let alone.

The year 1872 saw a new physician in charge at the Washingtonian, and with him came a repudiation of some of the previous claims of total cure. This is what he stated:

Every year's experience gives fresh evidence of the necessity and the importance of establishing a place of detention for that class of inebriates who will not voluntarily enter an asylum like ours. We seldom if ever succeed in reforming men who are brought to us against their free will. If sobered off in some properly conducted place of detention, and kept until their reason could be reached, they would in most, if not all, cases be but too glad to seek voluntary treatment in the Home. . . . The most difficult lesson we have to teach is, that a drunkard can never be changed to a moderate drinker. With such there is no middle ground between total abstinence and drunkenness. Once a drunkard always a drunkard, if he drinks at all.

The year 1873 saw another change in the office of superintendent and physician at the Home. Dr. Albert Day was back again. He now points out that —

the absurd remedies and cures so widely advertised are the cheap inventions of speculating quacks, and have no foundation in sense or experience. Inherited or acquired appetite can never be wholly removed.

It may be weakened and stifled by abstinence, and at times seems to be gone forever out . . . but it is there, and ever and anon while life lasts breaks out with more or less fierceness and power. The effort of the physician must be directed to the weakness of the will. This he must strengthen, build up, until it is firm enough to keep the appetite in subjugation. And no matter how the will may have been undermined in the past, or may be assailed in the future, it can be lifted up to complete and permanent mastery over every assault of appetite. For as discipline enables one to perform feats before impossible, to go through the most rapid and complicated manual labor or exercise with the utmost facility and precision, to walk or run or wheel a load over a rope or wire, to poise the whole body on a mere point in midair, to do finger's work with the toes, and to accomplish readily the most difficult mental task, so the will may be strengthened and educated until it acquires entire command over every passion and impulse until temptation which once could not be withstood is easily resisted. This is the true cure. Through the use of proper remedies, medical and psychological, the physical system is put in thorough repair and reinvigorated. The mind is restored to full health, the heart is encouraged and established, strengthened and fortified against all attacks, the will recovers and maintains its lost supremacy. Thus the man comes to himself all over, the victim becomes the victor, and sobriety is secured.

How absurd in the light of present knowledge.

We quote Dr. Day at considerable length because he was esteemed to know more about the subject of alcohol addiction and its cure than "any man in the world," according to Dr. I. D. Crothers, editor of the "Journal of Inebriety," and an eminent authority of his period, of Hartford, Connecticut, and a contemporary author of articles on inebriety. Massachusetts, at this period, was "showered" with propaganda similar to that quoted above, from Dr. Day. The members of the Legislature were importuned at "every turn" with requests for reforms which called for hospitalization for drunkards. It was this kind of activity that led to the authorization of "specialized institutions." The Legislature was convinced that something had to be done to "reform" the "milder criminals," who, it was alleged, were redeemable by specialized treatment. The literature of this period, both medical and penal, abounds with urgent appeals for reformation of the drunkard. It was thought by the medical men of this period that all drunkards were suffering from a "curable disease" of the "nerve centers" which seldom failed to yield to a treatment of a year or more. It was said that "the result (cure) comes from changes produced in the structure of the brain and

nerves." (See Twentieth Report of the Washingtonian Home, 1878, at page 16.)

By 1879 Dr. Day was apparently convinced that insane asylums were not the proper places for inebriates, but that they should be treated in "inebriate institutions." By this time he had changed his mind considerably about the accuracy of the position taken by the pulpit, for he stated, "The pulpit and the platform in general are shrouded in ignorance darker than Egypt on this subject. When they do open their mouths all you hear is Sin! Sin! and that no drunkard shall enter the Kingdom of Heaven. All such talk belongs to the past, instead of the enlightenment of the present age."

Science is fast dispelling error, as the morning sun dispels the darkness of night; and as all nature hails the breaking morn with songs of gladness, so will our suffering race hail with joy new-born truths, and those who are shackled with disease, and mental perversities shall no longer be treated as sinners and demons, but as beings susceptible of cure by rational treatment.

We say let there be light. . . . None but bats and owls will object.

So too, thought he, as to the curability of chronics:

In such cases (chronics) proper medical and dietary treatment may do much to build and strengthen their physical system, but what they need most is medicine for a diseased and weakened mind, and that is a curative agent not to be found in a drug store or a physician', medical case. . . . We do not claim to perform miracles; we only claim to apply proper means to right ends by following simple and natural laws. The man who says that inebriety can be cured by medicine alone is either ignorant of the subject or an imposter who does not believe his own statement. (See 21st Annual Report of Washingtonian Home, 1879.)

By 1880, the medical profession had discovered that the chronic "had an atrophic brain." Dr. Day and others were then convinced that "the rich and the poor, the learned and the ignorant, the moralist and the libertine, all fall to the same level under the power of alcohol." "It is the truth," he said, "and being the truth, it might as well be told." "For dipsomania there is but one cure, — total abstinence from all which can intoxicate. If the patients cannot control themselves, then the State should interfere and place them under restraint." (See 22nd Annual Report of the Washingtonian Home, 1880.)

It is observed from what Dr. Day stated in that report that it was still the prevailing opinion of "the weight of the medical

authority" that "those who would come and place themselves under their care for a year or more could be, in most cases cured. . . . We have proof of this by actual experience," said he. (Ibid., pp. 20–21.)

As already stated, our Legislature during this period was urgently pressed for action which called for the hospitalization of the inebriate. But it did not respond favorably to these appeals at that time. Instead, it decided on trying out the reformatory principles being advocated, by establishing specialized institutions in the penalogical field. As a result of this agitation "the State Workhouse was established in 1884, to which drunkards could be sentenced for a period of two years." See Acts of 1884, c. 258, § 1.)

On December 9, 1884, the Massachusetts Reformatory was also established and common drunkards were committable there for a period of six months.

By chapter 339, section 1 of Acts of 1885, habitual drunkards could be committed to asylums for the insane. In 1873 the Reformatory for Women was completed, and it, too, was receiving female drunkards. (See Pr. Com. Rep. (1928), p. 55.)

About this period the city of Boston changed the location of its main pauper asylum and moved it to Long Island. All this activity was directed toward establishing a system in which the "drunkard" or "rounder," it was assumed, could be "cured" by a long treatment which would include "adequate work therapy outdoors" when possible. For accidental offenders and beginners, the jail and house of correction remained for "sobering up purposes." Here was an innovation, a change of system. What effect did it have on arrests for drunkenness, commitments and prison population? See charts 88, 89, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106 and 109 hereinbefore referred to; and at charts 107, 110, 111, 112, 114 and 121, which are herewith set forth.



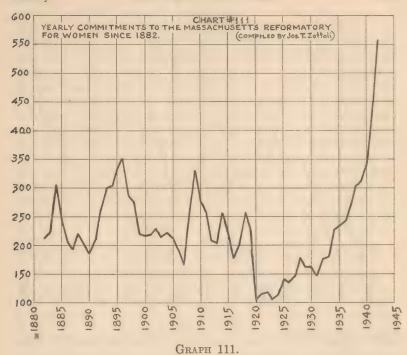
GRAPH 107.

	High I	POINTS.	Low F	POINTS.
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.
1883	183	9.4		-
1884	-	-	138	7.1
1885	365	18.8	-	-
1887	-	-	173	8.9
1898	1,442	51.4	-	-
1901	-	-	1,177	42.0
1911	3,553	105.5	-	-
1920	-	-	335	8.7
1925-28	1,420	34.3	-	-
1930-32	_	_	1,280	30.1
1934	1,675	38.5	-	-
1936	_	-	1,365	31.4
1937	1,741	40.0	-	-
1938	-	-	1,572	36.4
1941	1,961	45.4	-	-
1942	-		1,805	41.8

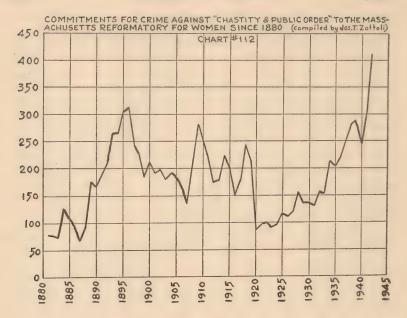


GRAPH 110.

	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low Points.		
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1879	409	22.9	_	-	
1882	-	_	228	12.8	
1884-85	295	15.2	_	-	
1891	-	-	214	9.6	
1896	350	14.0	-	-	
1907	-	-	146	4.9	
1909	251	7.4	_	-	
1912-13	-	_	191	5.7	
1915	333	9.0	_	-	
1917	-	-	259	7.0	
1919	354	9.2	_	-	
1921	-	-	176	4.6	
1929	299	7.0	_	-	
1931-32	_	-	258	6.1	
1938	419	9.7	-	-	
1941	-	-	402	9.3	
1942	439	10.2	_	_	



HIGH POINTS. Low Points. YEAR. Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts. Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts. Number Number or Average Number. or Average Number. 213 11.9 1882 1884 309 15.9 193 9.9 1887 1888 222 9.9 1890 189 8.4 1896 352 14.1 1907 166 5.5 1908 332 9.9 1912-13 207 6.1 1914 258 7.0 1916 179 4.8 1918 259 6.7 1920 102 2.6 1922 120 3.1 1923 105 2.5 4.2 1928 180 149 3.5 1931 1942 557 12.9



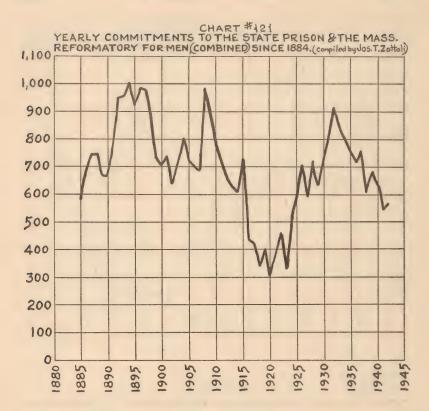
GRAPH 112.

	Нісн Е	POINTS.	Low Points.		
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1881-83	_	-	77	4.3	
1884	129	6.6	-	-	
1887	-	-	68	3.5	
1896	311	12.4	-	**	
1899	-	-	184	6.6	
1900	212	7.6	-	-	
1907	_	-	134	4.5	
1909	281	8.3	_	_	
1912-13	_	-	176	4.8	
• 1914	225	6.1	-	_	
1916		_	151	4.1	
1918	246	6.4	_	-	
1920	_	_	80	2.2	
1928	156	3.7	-	-	
1929-31	_	-	133	31	
1939	290	6.7	-	-	
1940	_	_	245	5.7	
1942	414	414 9.6		_	



GRAPH 114.

	HIGH H	POINTS.	Low Points.			
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.		
1881	-	-	<u>k</u> 81	4.5		
1884	152	7.8		-		
1890	-	-	67	3.0		
1896	200	8.0	ana.	1.9		
1907	-	-	58			
1910	98	2.9	- *	-		
1920	_	-	5	.1		
1938-39	105	2.4	_	- '		
1940	-	-	86	2.0		
1942	137	3.2	900	-		



GRAPH 121.

	HIGH I	POINTS.	Low I	OINTS.	
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	
1885	-	-	564	29.0	
1887-88	749	33.5	-	-	
1889-90	_		663	29.6	
1894-97	972	38.9	-	-	
1902		-	635	22.6	
1904	802 ,	26.7	-	-	
1907	_	-	684	22.8	
1908	981	29.1	_	-	
1914	_	-	604	16.4	
1915	730	19.8	-	-	
1920	-		301	7.8	
1922	463	12.0	_	-	
1923	_		325	7.8	
1932	911	21.4	-	-	
1941	_	-	542	12.6	
1942	567	13.1	-	-	

These charts speak for themselves. Note how the trends remained at a low point in this period. There can be no reasonable doubt but that these low trends were the result of the co-ordinated efforts of that period. It will be noted that the penology relating to drunkenness between 1880 and 1885 was a "mild one" compared to that operating in the periods which immediately preceded and followed the time in question. By chapter 299, Acts of 1879, women convicted of drunkenness could be, and many were, punished by imprisonment in the Reformatory Prison for Women for not less than four months and not more than two years. The males were usually sentenced, as common drunkards, to the houses of correction, where the maximum sentences were for six months. (See Prison Com. Rep., 1884, p. 7.)

These "stiff penalties," obviously reduced recidivism, for a drunkard could not so often "repeat his offence."

By 1880 severity of sentencing came into disfavor, and the Legislature provided milder treatment for the drunks. By chapter 129, Acts of 1880, county commissioners were given the power of releasing persons imprisoned for drunkenness. The same year "probation was extended to Town and Cities except Boston." By chapter 221 of the Acts of 1880, "the fine system" was restored, and prisoners "were permitted" to be at liberty on parole by the county commissioners.

The above statute was amended by chapter 276 of the Acts of 1881, which provided for small fines and short terms of imprisonment for first and second offenders "within the year," and a possible sentence of \$10 and costs, or imprisonment of not more than one year, for common drunkenness by males. If we look at chart 25 we will note the result of this "mild treatment," — arrests for drunkenness increased from a total of 5,442 for the year 1879 to 11,182 for the year 1880; and to 12,260 for 1883. A slight decrease, to 12,192, took place in 1884; another followed in 1885, to 10,958; and still another in 1886, when the low point for that "cycle" was reached by the effect of the "new system, which was instituted in 1885."

By chapter 365, Acts of 1885, "Males convicted of drunkenness twice before within the next preceding twelve months" were subject to possible imprisonment in the Massachusetts Reformatory for "not less than one year nor more than two years." But in the same year, by chapter 375, Acts of 1885, the first offender, in twelve months, was punishable "by \$5 plus costs;" if not paid, "imprisonment of not more than thirty days" was the penalty. This change of system brought an increase in drunkenness arrests,

commitments and prison population, which was not checked until about 1889, when the Legislature again took more drastic action.

See chapter 414, Acts of 1889, establishing "The Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates," which provided for a two-year commitment. Also see chapter 427, Acts of 1891, providing for greater penalties for drunkenness.

More important than the passage of these penal measures was the fact that the people of our Commonwealth, through "local option," were rapidly "drying up" the State. As reported by Governor Brackett in his inaugural address, dated January 2, 1890, four fifths of the cities and towns of our Commonwealth had voted for "absolute prohibition in the year 1889." Thus it appears that, through "heavy sentencing" and quasi-prohibition, the human wreckage from alcoholic beverages had reached another low point by 1892, when only 3,590 arrests occurred in the Boston Municipal Court district. (See chart 25.)

But it was not long before this system also was changed. By chapter 427, Acts of 1891, "release without arraignment" was authorized. Chapter 356, Acts of 1891, brought in a probation system. Chapter 276, Acts of 1892, provided for "Women Probation Officers." The probation system went into effective operation in 1892. (See Prison Com. Report, 1894, p. 93.)

It is reported by Chief Justice Bolster that in 1892 Suffolk County released 74 per cent of those arrested for drunkenness, and that "drunkenness cases declined, but arrests for drunkenness reached the high peak of 75 per 1,000 inhabitants." It is to be noted that the "fine system" was also restored in 1893. It also appears that the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates went into active operation in the year 1893. Here was an innovation in state treatment of inebriates. All these changes were made in the interest of "more humane" and "more effective" treatment of inebriates. It was thought that by these changes a better method of prevention and cure could be achieved, but the results, putting it mildly, were disappointing. The effects of this so-called humane treatment can easily be seen by studying the trends shown by the charts, for the years 1892 to 1898. The volume of arrests for drunkenness for this so-called "ideal system" increased from 3,590 in the year 1892 to 20,734 in the year 1897, as shown by chart 25. We have already referred to similiar changes in other trends from 1892 to 1897, and to what happened from 1898 to 1944, as to which see the charts hereinbefore referred to.

Here, again, is further evidence that each system has its own quantum of breakage, and that there is a causal relation between the effects perceived and the particular system out of which they grow. A broad survey shows that society has improved its penological systems over the course of years, though the effects of each system employed showed that it was not functioning up to the scientific standard of the later research. Every system has had its critics, some of whom were constructive, others blind and destructive. That relating to alcoholic beverage is no exception. The literature is flooded with generalizations that are unfounded. It will serve a useful purpose to examine and analyze some of these, in so far as they relate to the subject under review, before we again proceed further with the subject of hospitalization for the inebriate.

# Chapter VII.

GENERALIZATIONS TO THE EFFECT THAT PSYCHO-PENOLOGICAL METHODS ARE NOT EFFECTIVE PREVENTIVES OF DRUNKENNESS ARE NOT WELL-FOUNDED.

It has been alleged by some, from time immemorial, that penological methods are useless as preventives of drunkenness, and that such systems do not salvage the drunkard. Many observers thus generalize and say that neither release nor probation nor fines nor imprisonment nor any other penological system ever invented is effective as "preventive" or salvaging media. It has often been alleged that this is best evidenced by the large volume of commitments, prison population and recidivism that continues from year to year without appreciable change.

Many such expressions of opinion appear in the literature relating to alcoholism of more recent years. It is true that some of these observations and comments are more or less guarded or limited, but on the whole, the opinion is rather general that our present penological system should be scrapped and a hospitalization system of some sort installed. Right now the propaganda in this direction is rather urgent. It follows a pattern similar to that used prior to the year 1888, when the Massachusetts Legislature was "sold" this idea, and authorized state hospitalization for the dipsomaniac and inebriate. We will not now go into the results of that experiment, as that will be dealt with later in this report. Suffice to say that the Massachusetts experiment ended in failure in spite of the great efforts made by earnest and intelligent men to make it succeed. We mention this here because there now appears to be a strong public desire to revive hospitalization treatment for the inebriate and to substitute this for the penological systems which are alleged to be operating so ineffectively.

If we should believe all that we hear and read, we would be obliged to conclude that our penal system is generally ineffective and worthless and therefore should be relegated to the scrap heap of humanities' failures. It therefore behooves us to carefully weigh what has been and is being said about our penal system and to ascertain as far as possible whether these attacks are justifiable and if their implications are sound. Let us briefly review what has been said about the several segments of our criminological, penological systems.

#### Chapter VIII.

THE "RELEASE LAW" DISCUSSED.

The release law has not escaped the criticism leveled at other segments of the penological system under which we are now working. Much of this is justified. A study of the personal charts relating to "chronic drunks" clearly demonstrates that frequent "releases" precede the forming of habits which bring about degeneration of body and mind, ultimately resulting in irreversible chronic conditions and unsalvageable human wreckage. The indiscriminate releasing of persons arrested for drunkenness four times within the year, as permitted by our laws, defeats successful preventive action by the courts, and is one of the primary causes of the failure of penology to properly treat and thus prevent intemperance. It is clear beyond reasonable doubt that intemperance must be checked by positive action at an early stage if addiction is to be prevented. A study of the history of this law disclosed the fact that it was not the intent of those who originated the concept of "release" that it should be indiscriminately applied. The original purpose of the "release law" was to give the "beginner," or "accidental" drunk, a chance to be treated in the private "homes" or "retreats" without being taken before the court and perchance "stigmatized" by court action, and otherwise contaminated by contact with "criminals."

By chapter 427 of the Acts of 1891, police officers were permitted to release drunks who had not been arrested more than twice in the previous twelve months. By section 5 of the same act, courts were authorized to sentence males arrested for drunkenness to jails or houses of correction for a period of not more than one year, or to the Massachusetts Reformatory, as provided by chapter 323, Acts of 1886; and females for no longer than one year in jails or "any place provided by law," or to the Reformatory for Women, for a period of not more than two years.

The Prison Commissioner's reports show that the police released few persons under the authority of this act because there were no provisions made to cover the cost of the investigation required to be made before a release could be granted. "Heavy sentencing" did help in keeping down the number of arrests for drunkenness. Note the drop in arrests for drunkenness from the

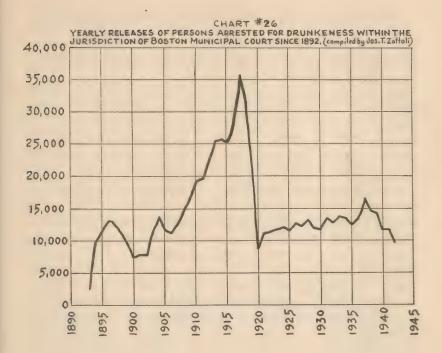
year 1889 to 1892 (chart 25). But "heavy sentencing" by the courts did not meet with public approval, as the public opinion was in favor of hospitalization for drunkards.

By 1893 the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Enebriates was ready to receive commitments. The failure of the penal measures to curb drunkenness was noticed by Governor William Z. Russell, who, on January 7, 1893, in his inaugural address, observed that "faithful and efficient service may make a bad system work well, or mitigate its lack of responsibility; but sound administration cannot permanently be had under such conditions, nor until the system itself is changed and corrected — my criticism is not of officials but of a system; and the test of that system is not the faithful work which they have done, but the unfaithful work which others might do without adequate responsibility to call them to account." (See Acts of 1893, p. 595.)

The subject was greatly debated that year, both inside and outside of legislative halls. This resulted in legislation which removed the power of release from the police and placed the responsibility of release upon the probation department and the courts. (Chapter 414 of the Acts of 1893.) In the same year, by the provisions of chapter 447 of the Acts of 1893, chapter 427 of the Acts of 1891 was amended, so that drunkenness cases might be filed if there had not been a third conviction for drunkenness, or a fine of not more than \$15 might be imposed for non-payment of which a commitment to jail or house of correction for a period not exceeding thirty days was authorized.

It was then thought that these changes in the penological system, and the institution of the hospitalization system at Foxborough, would result in a proper control of the intemperate, thereby diminishing the volume of arrests for drunkenness and the incidental wreckage resulting therefrom.

It is now apparent that their theory was faulty. Instead of diminishing the number of arrests for drunkenness, it appears that in one year after this system went into effect these arrests increased over 300 per cent in some districts. It appears that within the territorial jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston arrests for drunkenness increased from 5,840 for the year 1893 to 16,230 for the year 1894; and they kept on increasing while Foxborough was supposed to be working wonders, until in 1898 the arrests for drunkenness reached a total of 20,734. (See chart 25.) For the yearly number of releases granted in that district see chart 26, which follows.



GRAPH 26.

	HIGH F	OINTS.	Low Points.			
YEAR.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.	Number or Average Number.	Rate per 100,000 Population of Massachusetts.		
1893	-	-	2,160	86.4		
1896	13,117	524.6	_			
1900-02	-	-	7,455	265.7		
1904	13,700	456.1	-	-		
1906	-	-	11,097	369.4		
1917	35,949	973.4	-	-		
1920	-	-	8,508	220.8		
1937	16,624	382.1	-	-		
1942	-	-	9,093	210.6		

This chart shows that in 1898 there were 11,332 releases granted to persons arrested for drunkenness that year. If we view the yearly trends of arrests for drunkenness for the whole Commonwealth for that period, we do not find that these trends follow those above referred to. (See chart 88.)

Here we note that the arrests for drunkenness for the year 1893 total 71,677. The following year, 1894, shows a drop of 15,638 arrests, to a total of 56,039. This is followed by an increase for the year 1897 of 12,005 arrests for drunkenness to a total of 68,044. This in turn is followed by another drop in arrests, in the year 1898, of 5,290 to a total of 62,754 for that year.

A simple glance at these charts (25 and 88) will disclose that the trends for the period stated are not similar. Why? The answer will be found if the contemporary factors are surveyed. The system of control in our Commonwealth at that time was "local option." Under this system Boston voted "wet" for the period above referred to, while a large part of the State voted "dry." Massachusetts as a whole, under the influence of "local option" activities, was much "drier" than Boston, where "license" prevailed. This fact accounts for the difference in trends shown by the charts above referred to. The gains made throughout the State were not caused by the operation of the "release law," but rather in spite of its injurious effects. The detrimental effects of indiscriminate releasing of drunkards is better evidenced by what happened in "wet" cities and towns. This becomes "crystal clear" if the arrests from the "wet" districts of our State are compared with those of the "dry" districts under local option. Charts have been compiled by Judge Zottoli which show the annual trends for each district court territorial jurisdiction of our Commonwealth from 1924 to 1942. These confirm the observations above made. What appears from the survey of the arrests in the "dry" city of Melrose as compared with other cities and towns which voted "wet" under "local option" will suffice to illustrate the point above made.

The following table shows the total number of arrests for all crimes and for drunkenness in 1940, in the following cities and towns, together with the population thereof as shown by the Annual Report, Commissioner of Corrections, for the year ending December 31, 1940, at page 101:

CITY OR TOWN.								Population.	Total Arrests.	Arrests for Drunkenness.
Melrose .							.	25,333	138	75
Malden .								58,010	1,086	548
Everett .								46,784	1,492	761
Beverly .								25,537	473	328
Northampton								24,794	642	309
Gloucester								24,046	836	540
Leominster								22,226	791	385
Peabody .								21,711	627	474

Further evidence confirming the above observation is found in a report issued by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor, in 1900, which in part is as follows:

The license cities and towns (of Massachusetts) showed 32.24 arrests for drunkenness to every 1,000 of the population; the no license communities showed 9.94 such arrests for every 1,000 of the population.

Arrests for offences other than drunkenness were 22.34 to each 1,000 of the population in license cities and towns; in no license cities and towns they were 10.26 to every 1,000 of the population. (See "The Master Method," by Guy Hayler, p. 116, 1901.)

The "release law" as at present operated is ineffective, it is true; but this does not mean that it may not be operated so as to be very effective in preventing addiction. The inefficiency of the "release law" lies in the fact that it facilitates the acquiring of the so-called habit before preventive measures are taken. It resembles the calling of the fire department after the house has burned down. It is generally recognized that alcoholism can only be prevented if early action is taken for this purpose. This can be done even before the first release is granted, if a modification of the "Spartan treatment" is put in operation. This treatment may be called a modified conditioned reflex treatment. It was first tried about 1933, in the Boston Municipal Court, to "cure" college students who, after "midyears" and "finals," came to Boston "to get drunk and blow the lid off."

A survey of the patients of one of our better local hospitals for those suffering from alcoholic psychosis showed that about 25 per cent of the patients were graduates of colleges, who had acquired "the habit" during college days when permitted "to sow their wild oats." It had been customary, previous to 1933,

to segregate "these dear children" and after a sobering period to, "release" them, with "a simple kindly admonition." The final result of this lenient treatment was often a psychotic drunk in later life, who had received "the advantage of a college training, or better."

Our survey convinced us that many of this type might have been saved if a different method had been applied. A different method was worked out and experimented with, all within the discretionary powers granted by law. The "beginner," when brought to the detention "tombs", was segregated, as before, until he had nearly sobered up. Then he was asked to be "a big brother" to a couple of the "chronics" who had been arrested and segregated because of their "filthy, lousy and somewhat delirious" condition. After an hour or two of this "voluntary service" it was pointed out to the beginner that these men too had been abstainers and moderate drinkers, — men who once thought they could stop their excessive drinking; but look at them now — just human derelicts beyond repair.

After this modified Spartan treatment came the "release." A person committing a second offence within the year was not released, but was held for court action. Here, again, a "modified Spartan" treatment was applied. The offender was brought to the detention room with the rest of the drunks held for court. One can easily visualize the picture presented by the human wreckage gathered in by the policing of the heart of the city of Boston. The shock of being co-mingled with such a group for even a short time is often sufficient to cause the beginner to "swear off" forever. But this was not the only "shock" treatment he received. The plan was to seat him where he also received the benefit of seeing and hearing what happened to the drunks held for court action. After an hour or more of this treatment his turn finally arrived. After hearing derelicts being fined or sentenced to the jail or house of correction or, perchance, the State Farm, the "new comer" is usually thoroughly meek and disillusioned as to the benefits of the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages, and is grateful when given probation, with or without a suspended sentence, which he usually successfully keeps.

Of course, those who believed in the sowing of "wild oats" theory, at first objected to their "dear boys" being handled so uncouthly. But later they too saw the point and co-operated. How many college men and beginners have been saved by this method? No one knows. But we do know that the practice of "sowing wild oats" by collegians in Boston ceased, and that the flow of arrests for drunkenness of this type was greatly diminished.

It should be apparent that it is too late to salvage when conditions have become irreversible. One then has about as much chance to reverse conditions as a housewife has in making a cucumber out of a pickle. "Shock treatment" to be successful must be applied while the mentality is still shockable, and that means that the physical and mental conditions must then be reversible. One release at most, and this only in the case of the accidental offender or the beginner, should be the rule if proper salvaging is to take place. This method does impose more work on those operating the penal system, but the objectives secured are worth the added effort.

That the Trustees of Norfolk State Hospital understood the weaknesses and strength of improper and proper releasing is manifested by the following observations with reference to the release law, made by them in their special report to the Legislature in the year 1910.

Release, which is an excellent and proper disposition for the first offender or accidental drunkard, has been applied conscientiously to second, third and fourth offenders, when the probation officer is of the opinion that the man has not been arrested twice before within the preceding year. Further, many individuals who have been arrested more than twice previously within the year escape detection and secure release, owing to the lack of a central record bureau which should serve as a depository for records of all cases in all courts. Thus occasional drunkards have been allowed through neglect to develop confirmed inebriety and become burdens on the State. (See Special Report of the Trustees of Norfolk State Hospital, "Drunkenness in Massachusetts," House, No. 139, p. 14, 1910.)

Apparently the observer, who reported, "So far as I know there is no criticism whatever of the law (release law) or of its administration — those who know best are unanimous in saying that the effect upon those arrested is good, that it does not encourage carelessness in drinking," was not familiar with the attitude of the Trustees of Norfolk State Hospital and of the Trustees of Foxborough, who often, in their respective annual reports, complained about the harm done by indiscriminate releasing of inebriates.

From what has been said it is apparent that the release law should be amended so as to apply to the first arrest. Beyond that more effective measures should be taken to prevent intemperance. (See personal charts of inebriates, and note how frequent releases lead to inebriety and institutionalization.)

The following typical chart will serve to illustrate this point (personal chart 49-Z):

YEAR	Z ,	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901		-										
1902												
1903												
1904		NOTE										
1905		THIS	50-CA	LLED	"MOD	ERATE	DRIN	KER"L	NDER (	UR PR	ESENT	
1906		SYST	EM OF	PENO	LOGY	HAS	HADT	HIRTY	FIVE	RELE	ASES.	
1907	,									LES" V		
1908										1933 8		
		1116	.00421							1755	.,.	
1909												
1910												
1911												
1912						-						-
1913												
1914		-	alt		-							
1915		RPR	#10		R					-		-
1916										R		R
1917				#5	<b>*</b> 5							
1918					R	R		R				
1919												
1920												
1921					R	-				R		R
1922		R							R			
1923			R							R		
1924			F					P		R		
1925						R.						
1926					R	#5	5		\$5			R
1927				\$10	R	R	F		R	RP	10	
1928						\$5	\$5					
1929				R	R	R				\$5		
1930				1.	R			F		R	\$5	
1931	#10		R		R	R		•				
	10		1				F			RR	201	\$5\$
1932	\$5	I-M 30		Tive!	MARIE	PAR				RXIN		-
1933	I-M SC	55 55 SF SC A F	-	E	\$ P ■	HK.			\$5	A.P		
1934	AF	AF	r									
1935				I-M	150		\$5				Ed a	ME
1936	777777	7777777	7/77/17	55		77.77.17	77777	07777	111111	1111111	77777	777
1937	111111		William .			7/1/1		11/1/		1301	0 4/1/	1///
1938	1///	DMG	Y Y	SLA	ND	the fighting of a	OPI	14//	MAA	30,1	006	1////
1939		11/1/1/1	11/1/	//	1.////	TO	11/1/		1/4/4			X///
1940		11/1/1	fordal	4-24	(1//	1R1/						
1941			1	ULX	15,1	944	1/1//	1444				
1942			11/1/	11/1/1/	12.10	11/1/1			111111			XIII
-												

# PERSONAL CHART 49-Z.

# Penological Record.

Male; born in 1877; lived under two aliases; lived in four different places in low-cost areas in Boston.

Jan. 14, 1915	Dk.	Central	RPO.
Feb. 8, 1915	Dk.	Brighton	Prob. 3/8-15-9/8
Feb. 23, 1915	11	Central	RPO
Mar. 8, 1915	4.4	Brighton	\$10
May 3, 1915	4.4	Central	RPO
Oct. 2, 1916	14	Central	RPO
Dec. 4, 1916	44	Brighton	RPO
Apr. 24, 1917	44	Brighton	\$5 SF Pr 4-30-17
	44		
May 21, 1917	14	Brighton	\$5 DD0
Apr. 22, 1918	46	Central	RPO
Aug. 27, 1918	**	Brighton	RPO
Jun. 3, 1918	14	Central	RPO
May 9, 1921	11	Brighton	Rel.
Oct. 3, 1921	44	Brighton	RPO
Dec. 12, 1921	44	Brighton	RPO
Feb. 13, 1922	66	Brighton	RPO
Sept. 25, 1922	44	Brighton	RPO
Mar. 5, 1923	**	Roxbury	Rel.
Oct. 9, 1923	4.4	Brighton	RP()
Mar. 3, 1924	64	Brighton	Filed
Aug. 17, 1924	44	Brighton	Prob. 2-15-25-Filed
Oct. 28, 1924	• 6	Waltham	Rel.
Jun. 8, 1925	14	Brighton	RPO
May 24, 1926	**	Brighton	RPO
Jun. 1, 1926	"	Cambridge	\$5 Pd
Jul. 1, 1926	16	Cambridge	5 days HC
Sept. 27, 1926	**	Somerville	\$5
Dec. 31, 1926	44	Brighton	RPO
Apr. 4, 1927	**	Somerville	\$10
May 9, 1927	**	Cambridge	Rel.
Jun. 27, 1927	44	Cambridge	Rel.
Jul. 13, 1927	4.4	Brighton	On File RPO
Sept. 12, 1927	14	Cambridge	RPO
Oct. 10, 1927	**	Brighton	Prob. 1-29-27-Filed
Oct. 31, 1927	44	Brighton	
Nov. 1, 1927	6.	Cambridge	\$5 Com. \$5
Jun. 11, 1928	44	Somerville	**
Jul. 6, 1928		Cambridge	\$5 SF 7-9-28-Def. \$5 Pd
Jul. 14, 1928	Def. Rem.	Cambridge	RPO
Apr. 6, 1929	Dk Dk	Brighton Brighton	RPO
May 8, 1929	Dk	Cambridge	RPO
Jun. 17, 1929	Dk		\$5 SF Pr. 10-28
Oct. 22, 1929	Dk Dk	Cambridge Cambridge	Rel.
May 28, 1930	Dk	Cambridge	Filed
Aug. 18, 1930	Dk Dk	Cambridge	Rel
Oct. 14, 1930	Dk	Cambridge	\$5 SF 11-24-30-Pd
Nov. 17, 1930	Dk Dk		
Jan. 27, 1931		Cambridge Brighton	\$10 SF 2-24-31-Pd RPO
Mar. 30, 1931	Dk Dk	Brighton Brighton	Rel
May 25, 1931 Jun. 1, 1931	Dk Dk	Waltham	RPO
Jun. 1, 1931 Jul. 8, 1932	Dk	Brookline	Filed
Oct. 10, 1932	Dk Dk	Cambridge	Rel
Oct. 10, 1932 Oct. 17, 1932	Dk Dk	Brighton	RPO
Nov. 10, 1932	Dk Dk	Brighton	\$10 Com.
1407. 10, 1932	DK	Diffuon	410 O0111+

Nov. 23, 1932	Par. from Charles St	reet Jail — Bal. to	be paid.
Dec. 6, 1932	Dk	Brighton	\$5 SF 12-12-Def.
Dec. 15, 1932	PDW-Dk-12/6/32	Brighton	\$5 Paid
Dec. 27, 1932	Dk	Brighton	\$5 SF 1-3-33-; 1-10
Jan. 5, 1933	Brt. Forward 12-27-	32 Brighton	\$5 Pd
Feb. 21, 1933	Dk	Central	1 Mo HCSS Pr. 8-23-33
Feb. 23, 1933	Dk	Brighton	30 days HCSS 5-20-33-Filed
Apr. 8, 1933	Dk	Central	Filed
Apr. 8, 1933	Surr-2/21/33	Central	1 Mo HC
Apr. 22, 1933	Rel. on parole HC to	expire 5-7-33.	
Apr. 29, 1933	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
May 1, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 7, 1933	Dk	Central	1 Mo CJ
Aug. 21, 1933	Rel. on parole Charle	es St. Jail to expire	e 9-6-33
Oct. 16, 1933	Dk	Central	RPO
Oct. 17, 1933	Dk	Central	3 Mos HC App
Oct. 21, 1933	Bailed		
Nov. 23, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jan. 13, 1934	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Feb. 10, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Mar. 15, 1934	Dk (2)	Suff. Sup	Filed
Mar. 31, 1934	Dk	Cambridge	Filed
May 17, 1934	Dk	Brighton	5-21 \$5 SF Pd
Sept. 25, 1934	Dk	Brighton	\$5 SF Pd
May 2, 1936	Dk	Brighton	1 Mo HCSS Pr. 1-7-36-Def.
May 4, 1936	Dk	Brighton	\$5 Com
Jul. 14, 1936	Dk	Brighton	\$5 SF 8-25-36-Def.
Nov. 16, 1936	Dk	Brighton	\$3 Paid-\$2 Com.
Nov. 16, 1936	PDW-Dk	Brighton	1 Mo HC
Jun. 24, 1940	Dk	Brighton	RPO

Record checked to 1-31-44.

Note the handling of this so-called "moderate drinker" under our present system of penology. He had thirty-five "releases." Note the "nol pros" and Superior Court "files" when the lower courts tried to salvage him in 1933 and 1934.

# Hospitalization Record.

Admitted to Long Island Hospital, November 30, 1936, for hypertension and destitution. Was still at Long Island Hospital when last checked, July 15, 1944.

#### Chapter IX.

THE "FILING" OF DRUNKENNESS CASES DISCUSSED.

The same objections to indiscriminate "releasing" apply also to indiscriminate filing of "drunk cases." Some workers in penological and sociological fields generalize and say that filing of "drunk cases . . . only serves to help create addicts." There is error in thus generalizing. It is true that ordinarily too lenient treatment is no deterrent, and that the filing of drunkenness cases often is followed by recidivism. This is especially true when the case is filed before the person so favored has thoroughly sobered up. But there are cases where the filing of a case is not only convenient but also salutary. It often happens that a person is arrested for drunkenness at an early hour in the morning — too near court time to be sufficiently sober for "release" or trial. The person thus arrested may be an "accidental offender" or "just a beginner," who would probably have been released had he better timed his spree. Persons in such cases cannot qualify for release by a probation officer, as they are too drunk to make and sign the required statement. Moreover, no sensible probation officer or judge will release a person under such circumstances. The court usually continues these cases to give the defendant a fair chance to "sober up." In many such cases the experience the defendant has undergone is sufficiently shocking to prevent a recurrence of the offence. Such cases are therefore usually filed. They can be reopened if the offence is repeated. Then, too, the filing of a case may be for a purpose which often is not disclosed by the record. The charge of drunkenness may and often is accompanied by "companion cases," such as drunken driving, larceny and other crimes. In this event the court usually sentences for the more severe infractions. Under these circumstances it often would be vain to "split" or "multiply" sentences, and therefore the court generally will file the drunkenness charge and impose a sentence on the other charges. It also very often happens that drunkenness cases are filed as a matter of court strategy. This is so in cases of chronic drunks and "rounders," who spend most of their life span as inmates of state institutions. We are referring to that type of leech on society that almost every commission assigned to study drunkenness in Massachusetts and elsewhere has recommended should be institutionalized for long periods, on farm colonies, under penological custodial care and treatment. Many of this type are living the "life of Reilly" by going the rounds of our various city, county and state institutions, because of the inefficient handling of their cases "on appeal." By injudicious "nol-prossing" and "filing" many of these irreversible addicts are permitted to further degenerate in body and mind to the point where institutionalization in a hospital or an infirmary becomes necessary, and where they often remain until an untimely end relieves society of this burden. (See personal chart 66–Z for a typical case.)

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904				:								
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910												
1911												
1912												
1913												
1914												
1915					FF SF SC		S.	F.			F	R
1916		F	F	S.	F	F	F		R	ет. То	S.E.	
1917	RF	-M	面。	S.	F.	SF SS		F		S.F.		R
1918			F	RET	To S	F	FID	R				
1919			REM	F							RF	
1920	PRF	-[4]	2-M	F	2-	M P	2	M	I-M	F	М	S.F
1921	S.	F II	2 1-1	R		R	FSF I	I-M F				
1922	R P	I-M-	7	5.	F.	R					F	S.f
1923		. F.			I-M	FISS		3. F.				
1924		RE					RIT			S.		
1925		5.		F	8	ET. To	S.F	x	<b>BRSF</b> A	Z Z	5. F (5	c)-
1926	F	ET TO	S.F		F	RET.	To 5.	F	R PF	F	S.E.	
1927	S.F.	F	RET T	S	f.	FR	ET. To	S.F.			S.F.	
1928											S.	
		R	ET. TO	SEF				F	5,	F.	17 FI	2
1930	SFA	S.	F.	AF F	R	ET TO	S.F.		FR	ET TO	S.F.	
1931	SFSCFF	10 P	SF RP	S	F	F	2	ET TO	Sit		R	
1932				2-M	F	5.	F.	R	\$20		2-M	
1933		3-M	H.C.	SFSC	F				IO	1-14		
1934	SFSC	I-M	H	5.5			4 2	2-M		FP	AR. RE	70RE
1935	H.C.	R	RET	TO-S.		3	SF SS	S. F.		F	S.F.	
1936	S.F.	E S	F	e T	To 5.			NA SFSC	FSFSC	G LAN	N HOSP	
1937	HCP SS	F	S.F.		B,C.H		Bo	799	STA		465	
1938					11/1/							
1939	1/80	STO	100	STA	TE	HOS	PITA	14/18	THE	1/93	7/16	11/
1940		A	PRIL	29/	342	WHE	142/	DIED	THER	E/////		
1941			1/1/2									
1942		1/1///	11111									
1943												
1944												

#### PERSONAL CHART 66-Z.

#### Penological Record.

Male; born in 1882; lived under ten different aliases; lived in fourteen different places, sometimes in the South End of Boston, but more frequently in the low-cost living sections of metropolitan cities.

May 3, 1915	Drunkenness	Central		Filed
May 4, 1915	4.6	44		4.6
May 8, 1915	1.6	4.6		State Farm — appealed
Jun. 7, 1915	44	Suf. Sup		State Farm
Oct. 25, 1915	44	East Boston		State Farm SS 6 months
Nov. 13, 1915	46	46		Filed
Dec. 28, 1915	Drunk	Boston Munc	р	RPO
Feb. 16, 1916	44	Central		
Mar. 14, 1916		East Boston		Filed
Mar. 14, 1916	Surr			Sup Revoked, State Farm — Com. Filed
Jun. 18, 1916	Dk "	Central		7/28 Filed
Jul. 25, 1916	44	E. Boston		Filed Retd to State Farm
Sept. 2, 1916	66	Central		RPO
Jan. 19, 1917	46	"		Filed
Jan. 22, 1917 Jan. 29, 1917	.4	4.6		1 month HC
Mar. 8, 1917	64	4.6		10 days HC
Mar. 19, 1917	44	E. Boston		Filed Ret S. F.
Jun. 22, 1917	44	"		SFSS 6 months
Sept. 8, 1917	44			Filed Susp Rev. Com.
Dec. 28, 1917	4.6	Central		RPO
Mar. 20, 1918	44	East Boston		Filed — Retd S. F.
Jul. 22, 1918	44	Central		Prob 1/22/19
Jul. 25, 1918	6.6	16		Filed
Jul. 25, 1918	Surr	4.6		10 days HC.
Aug. 23, 1918	Drunk	44		RPO
Mar. 6, 1919	44	44		RPO
Mar. 19, 1919	Dk	E. Boston		1 m HCSS — appealed
Apr. 21, 1919	44	Central		Filed
Nov. 3, 1919	4.6	14		RPO
Nov. 17, 1919	4.6	46		Filed
Jan. 11, 1920	41	"		RPO
Jan. 13, 1920	**	44		Prob. 7-14-20
Jan. 17, 1920	Surr (dk)	64	1-17	1 mo HC Filed
11 11 11	Dk "	44		2 mos HC
18, 1920	44	4.6	2-19	2 mos HC ss Prob. 10-20-20
Apr. 20, 1920		"		2 mos HC
Apr. 28, 1920	Sur (dk) Dk	4+		Filed
Apr. 28, 1920 May 28, 1920	DK.	44		2 mos HC ss Prob. 12-29-20
Jul. 6, 1920	Sur (dk)	**		Prob. 1-5-21
Jul. 6, 1920	Dk	64		Filed
Jul. 7, 1920	Sur (dk)	44		2 mos HC
11 11 11	Dk	44		Filed
Sept. 7, 1920	44	**		1 mo HC
Oct 7, 1920	14	E. Boston		Filed
Oct. 18, 1920	6.4	Bos. Muncp.		1 mo Jail
Nov. 20, 1920	61	4.6		RPO
Nov. 23, 1920	6.6	6.6		State Farm
Feb. 24, 1921	**	41		10 days Jail
Mar. 4, 1921	66	E. Boston		RPO
Mar. 7, 1921	44	Bos. Muncp.		1 mo HC
Jul. 8, 1921	Dk.	E. Boston		RPO
Jul. 00, 1921	Dk.	Bos. Munep.		Prob. 1-11-22
Jul. 18, 1921	(4)	44		Filed State Farm ss Prob. 1-18-22 Def
40 40	Sur (dk)			Diale Parm 88 1100. 1-10-22 Der

Jul. 19, 1921	Sur	(dk)	Bos. Munep	RPO
Jul. 20, 1921	Dk.		E. Boston	One month H of C. Committed.
Aug. 20, 1921	44		64	Filed
Jan. 24, 1922	4.6		Bos. Munep.	RPO
Jan. 27, 1922				Prob. 8-2-22
Jan. 31, 1922			Rox.	1 month H of C — Committed
Mar. 7, 1922			East Boston	Filed
			East Doston	1 week H of C
Mar. 8, 1922				
Mar. 23, 1922			Bos. Muncp.	Filed
	PD	W (dk)		State Farm
40 44 61	Sur	(dk)	6.4	Filed
Jun. 1, 1922	Dk		6.6	State Farm
Oct. 3, 1922	44		. 6	1 mo C. Jail
Nov. 30, 1922	4.6		4.6	RPO
Dec. 1, 1922	6.4		4.4	Filed (Ret. S. F.)
Apr. 30, 1923			.4	1 mo Jail
May 31, 1923			41	Filed
			E. Boston	Filed
			Li. Doscon	
Jun. 11, 1923			D / 35	1 m Jail susp sent.
Jun. 26, 1923			Boston Muncp	State Farm
Jun 28, 1923			Rox 10/5	Filed returned to State Fm.
Feb. 6, 1924			Bos. Muncp.	RPO
Feb. 7, 1924	11		4.4	7 days C. Jail
Jul. 10, 1924	6.6		44	RPO
Jul. 14, 1924	1.5		.,	1 mo HC
Aug. 19, 1924	+ 4		4.6	10 days Jail
Aug. 30, 1924			E. Boston	RPO
Sept. 2, 1924	+4		Bos. Munep.	10 days HC
			bos. Muncp.	St Farm
Sept. 15, 1924		1 4 (0) 1 77		St Farm
Dec. 15, 1924		ole from State Fa	ırm	VIII 1 (TO . CITE)
Dec. 17, 1924				Filed (Ret. SF)
Apr. 21, 1925			Rox	Filed, Ret SF
Sept. 15, 1925	4 +		E. Boston	RPO
Sept. 17, 1925	4.6		Bos. Munep.	RPO
Sept. 26, 1925			Rox.	SF — Appealed
Oct. 5, 1925			Suff Sup	State Farm
Jan. 6, 1926			Roxbury	Filed
May 8, 1926			Roxbury	State Farm
		on norale from	State Farm, exp 10-7	
Sept. 23, 1926		on parote from t		ss Prob.
Sept. 24, 1926			Roxbury	
Sept. 26, 1926			Boston Muncp	RPO
Sept. 27, 1926				Filed
Sept. 28, 1926	1.1		6.4	SS Prob. 3-30-17
Oct. 1. 1926	4.6		4.6	Filed
Oct. 1, 1926	Sur	(dk)	4.6	State Farm
Feb. 1, 1927		on parole from S	State Farm	
Feb. 4, 1927		-	Boston Muncp	Filed (Ret SF)
Jun. 7, 1927			44	Filed (Ret SF)
Sept. 29, 1927	4.6		Bos. Munep.	State Farm — committed
	4.4			RPO
Dec. 30, 1927	1.6		Central	
Dec. 31, 1927			Roxbury	Filed
Oct. 1, 1928			E. Boston	Released
Oct. 3, 1928			Central	RPO
Oct. 8, 1928	6.4		Rox.	\$10 committed
Oct. 28, 1928			Bos. muncp.	RPO
Oct. 30, 1928			4.4	RPO
Oct. 31, 1928			44	State Farm
Jan. 21, 1928		on parole from	St. Farm. exp 10-30-	29
Feb. 2, 1929		post of the second	Boston Munep	Filed (Ret SF)
			44	Filed
Sept. 8, 1929				15 days Common Jail
Nov. 2, 1929			Central	
Nov. 18, 1929			Bos. Muncp.	Filed
Nov. 22, 1929				10 dys CJ
Jan. 2, 1930			6.6	State Farm app
Jan. 6, 1930	1.6		Suff Super	Filed

Apr. 10, 1930	Dk	Boston Muncp	State Farm app
Jan. 9, 1930	**	Suff Super	Taken fm file-St Farm
May 5, 1930	4.4	Suff Super	Filed
May 10, 1930	41	Roxbury	Filed (Ret SF)
Sept. 11, 1930	6.6	Boston Munep	Filed (Ret. SF)
		"	Filed
Jan. 30, 1931	44	64	
Jan. 31, 1931	"		10 dys CJ
Feb. 10, 1931		Central	State Farm appealed
Mar. 2, 1931	4.4	Suf. Sup	Filed
Mar. 14, 1931	4.6	Bos. Muncp.	SF ss Prob. 3-9-32
Mar. 18, 1931	6.6	Rox.	SFSS 3/18/32 ext to 3/18/33
Mar. 21, 1931	4.6	Bos. Muncp.	RPO
Mar. 22, 1931	4.6	11	RPO
Mar. 24, 1931	46.	44	Filed
11101. 21, 2002	Sur (dk)	41	State Farm
T 20 1021	Dk	4.6	Filed (Ret SF)
Jun. 30, 1931	DK 44	44	RPO
Nov. 2, 1931	**	C1 1 :	
Mar. 18, 1932		Charlestown	2 m HC — Committed
May 18, 1932	44	Roxbury	5/19 Filed
May 19, 1932	Suspension Rev. 3/1	8 Roxbury	State Farm Committed
Aug. 25, 1932	4.4	Bos. Muncp.	RPO
Aug. 29, 1932	Park Rules	Charlestown	\$20.
Oct. 29, 1932	Dk	" 10-31	2 mos HC
Jan. 10, 1933	Dk	Central	3 Mos HC
Apr. 13, 1933	Dk	44	St. Farm App
	Dk	Suff. Sup	Filed
May 1, 1933			
Sept. 16, 1933	Dk	Central	10 days CJ
Oct. 2, 1933	Dk	44	1 Month HC
Nov. 1, 1933	Dk		St. Farm App
Nov. 6, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jan. 15, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Feb. 5, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup	1 Month Jail
Mar. 7, 1934	Dk	Roxbury	St. Farm Com.
Jun. 7, 1934	Rel. on parole SF to	expire 3-6-35	
Jun. 8, 1934	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Jul. 10, 1934	Dk	Central	2 Mos HC
	Dk	Central	Filed
Oct. 10, 1934		Celitiai	Tiled
Oct. 10, 1934	Parole revoked	17 0 0.17	
Feb. 4, 1935	Rel. on parole SF to		70.70
Feb. 5, 1935	Dk	Central	RPO
Feb. 6, 1935	Parole revoked		
Feb. 6, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed — Ret. St. Farm
Jun. 21, 1935	Rel. on parole SF to	expire 7-5-35.	
Jun. 22, 1935	Dk	Central	3 days Common Jail
Jun. 25, 1935	Dk	Central	SF SS Prob 12-24-35
Jun. 26, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed
Jun. 26, 1935	Surr-Dk	Central	St. Farm Com.
	Rel. on parole SF to		
Sept. 26, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed — Ret. St. Farm
Oct. 9, 1935			Theu - Itet. St. Parm
Feb. 25, 1936	Rel. on parole SF to		Til 1 D 4 C4 Tr
Mar. 4, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed — Ret. St. Farm
Jul. 3, 1936	Rel. on parole SF to		
Jul. 8, 1936	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Aug. 7, 1936	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Sept. 8, 1936	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Filed
Sept. 13, 1936	Vagrancy	Quincy	St. Farm App (Sup. Ct - Not
2000 20, 2000			Guilty)
Dec 18, 1936	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
	Dk	Roxbury 1-19	SF SS Prob 1-19-38-
Jan. 18, 1937			Prob. 7-21-37-Def.
Jan. 20, 1937	Dk	Central	
Jan. 30, 1937	Dk	Roxbury	Filed
Jan. 30, 1937	Surr-Dk	Roxbury	St. Farm
Apr. 30, 1937	Rel. on parole SF to	expire 1-29-38.	

Record complete Jan. 23, 1939.

## Hospitalization Record.

Long Island Hospital:

Jan. 9, 1922, to Jan. 23, 1922. Alcoholism.

Boston City Hospital:

Dec. 6, 1924, to Jan. 17, 1925. Rupture, abdominal wall.

Sept. 23, 1925, to Sept. 24, 1925. Alcoholism.

Jan. 31, 1929, to Feb. 1, 1929. Alcoholism.

Sept. 3, 1933, to Sept. 6, 1933. Alcoholism, lacerated scalp.

Feb. 25, 1936, to Feb. 26, 1936. Alcoholism.

Apr. 30, 1937, to June 1, 1937. Alcoholism, lacerated scalp, alcoholic psychosis.

Boston State Hospital:

June 1, 1937. Died April 29, 1942. Alcoholic deterioration.

It often happens that for various reasons such a drunkard will accept a "suspended sentence" to the State Farm, where he should go by way of a "straight sentence," a thing which seldom happens. Probation, with a suspended State Farm sentence is offered in these cases not because the court so sentencing believes that the addict will reform under such a disposition, but rather because the court knows that a repetition of the offence within a few days is bound to take place, and then the suspended sentence can be put into operation and the "rounder addict" committed to the institution best fitted for such cases. But it also often happens that the "new offence" following such a "suspended sentence" is not committed within the territorial jurisdiction of the court which imposed it. In such cases judges of the district courts co-operate in seeing that justice is done. The court which has control of the defendant on the suspended sentence is notified by the probation department where the defendant has been found guilty of the later charge. He is then sent for because of the violation of probation, and when "turned over," the "new case" is filed. Ordinarily this process results in a confirmation of the suspended sentence, and justice is finally served by indirection and strategy, where it would utterly fail if direct action were taken. The so-called "filmy record" in such cases is misleading to one not conversant with what has actually taken place. His criticism of the filing of charges in cases where the record is bad is, on the face of the record, justified, but in view of what actually has taken place, it may be wholly unwarranted. However, it must be conceded that the injudicious filing of cases can be equally ineffective as improper "releasing," and also equally disastrous. For a typical example where both releasing and filing were injudicially used see personal chart 195-Z which follows.

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901						R						
1902												
1903												
1904									Р		P	
1905							P-(ad)		F	H/G	3///	14//
1906		//////	184850	5///	ULTERY/	//////	//////	/////	11/1			
1907	(111111)	(//////	(111111	77/////	(//////	//////	(/////	R	////			P
1908			I-M	I-M			SFSC	I-M				F
1909			2-M				^		M			<u> </u>
1910						F						
1911		R			4 M 55	-						
1912					55						R	
1913											-	
1914												
1915						FR					R	M
1916				R		1 1			P	P	R	
1917				- 1		PF			•	-	1	
1918	R			I-M		RW S			R.	W.		
1919				W		A	ŭ					
1920						R						
1921					R	- ( )			FISE	SE		
					10	R		RF	1 155	-		
1922		R		F	S.			7	3M 3S	<b>B</b>		-
1923		R	\$5 S.F			R			55			
1924			S.F			E I-M					-	
1925	-		5,	-	FF	F	F		10		R	
1926	R		- J.		Fr	FE	,r	1-1/4				
1927			-		R	//////	1	15×1×1	= ///s	2////	A MAISY	
1928			R	214	XIIXII		11/1//		-	111111	SY OS	
1929	J		SF <sub>SC</sub>	ZM	JAIL I-M		R	P 700	F	5.	Y/.	(51,14)
1930	111111	7/1///	(1/4/4/	444114	1-M 5.5	///////	M.	MON S		M //////		11/1/
1931		//YY E	STEC	1444/5 1111111	Y 14 Y 2	1105		PYOV	777507	7777	17/7/182 17/7/1	
1932										//////		
1933					(\$\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\\				HOSP	(11111)	111111	2000
1934	777777	///////	11/1/11	RF		DEVEL			71929	7.4		
1935												
1936		YRAN	SFER	RED TO	GAR	DNER	STATE	XXOSP.	JAN 3	0,1936		
1937												
1938					4/4/							
1939												
1940												
1941												
1942	DIED	AV/G	ARDN	ER//3	TATE	HOSP						
1943						77.77.77	23,19	43//				
1944							A Control of a	111111111111111111111111111111111111111				

# PERSONAL CHART 195-Z.

# Penological Record.

Female; born in 1877; eighteen aliases; lived at twenty-six different addresses mostly in the South End of Boston, sometimes in the North End and in East Boston, and rarely in suburban towns.

7 10 1001	20.1	~		TO 1
June 16, 1901	Dk	Central		Rel
Sept. 10, 1904	Dk	4.6		Prob. — DW
Nov. 30, 1904	PDW Dk	44 .		Prob. — Dism.
Nov. 30, 1904	Adultery	6.6		Waived Examination
July 13, 1905	Adultery	Suf. Sup.		Prob.
Sept. 26, 1905	Drunk	Central		On File
Sept. 26, 1905	Surr. Adultery	Suff. Sup.		Prob. HGS 1 yr.
Aug. 27, 1907	Drunk	Central		Rel. from House of Detention
Dec. 17, 1907	Drunk	44		Prob.
Mar. 21, 1908	Drunk	4.4	3/24	1 mo. H. C.
Mar. 21, 1908	Surr. dk.	6.6	-,	1 mo. H. C.
July 21, 1908	Drunk	4.4		State Farm — App.
0 dij 21, 1000	101 (4111)	Suf. Sup.		1 mo. Jail
Dec. 14, 1908	Drunk	Central		On File
		Centran		
Mar. 20, 1909	Drunk	4.6		2 mos. Jail
Aug. 16, 1909	Drunk	4.6		1 mo. H. C.
June 13, 1910	Drunk	6.6		On File
Feb. 24, 1911	Drunk	44		RPO
May 31, 1911	CNW			4 mos. HC ss. Prob. 12-13-11 Dism.
Nov. 23, 1912	Drunk	6.6		RPO
June 2, 1915	Drunk	4.4		Filed
June 28, 1915	Drunk	E. B.		RPO
Nov. 15, 1915	Drunk	Central		RPO
Nov. 22, 1915	Forn.	E. B.		1 mo. H. C.
Apr. 8, 1916	Drunk	Central		RPO
Sept. 6, 1916	Drunk	4.4	10-18	Prob. 3-14-17 DW
Oct. 16, 1916	Surr. dk.	4.6	10-18	Prob. 4-25-17 DW
Nov. 4, 1916	Drunk	E. B.		RPO
June 11, 1917	I&D	Central	6-15	Prob. 12-12-17
June 11, 1917	PDW Dk	44	6-15	On File
Jan. 11, 1918	Dk	E. B.	0 10	RPO
Apr. 2, 1918	Forn.	E. B.		1 mo HC
-	I&D	Central		RW — App.
June 12, 1918		Suff. Sup.		RW — App.
July 12, 1918	Drunk			
June 28, 1920	Drunk	E. B.		RPO
May 29, 1921	Drunk	Central		RPO
Sept. 23, 1921	Drunk	14		Filed
Sept. 28, 1921	Drunk	44		St. Farm ss. Prob.
Sept. 28, 1921	Immoral Sol.	14		Discharged
Nov. 26, 1921	Lewdness			44
88 64 64	Dk.	4.4		St. Farm ss. Prob. 5-31-22
46 46 44	Res. to pl. immo	r. solic. Cen	tral	Disch.
June 22, 1922	DK	E. Boston		RPO
Aug. 7, 1922	DK	44		RPO
Sept. 6, 1922	DK	Chelsea		30 dys. H. C.
Feb. 14, 1923	DK	Camb.		Filed
Mar. 6, 1923	DK	E. Boston		RPO
Apr. 2, 1923	DK	Central		Filed
Apr. 2, 1923	D.W.	44		St. Farm
Sept. 3, 1923	Forn.	4.6		3 m HCSS; pr. 12-5-23 DW
	DK	E. Boston		RPO
Feb. 15, 1924	DK	Roxbury		\$5.SS 4-8-24
Mar. 31, 1924		E. Boston		RPO
June 7, 1924	DK		6 8	
June 2, 1925	DK	Central	6-8	1 mo. jail
	DW Forn.			On file

Nov. 5, 1925 DK Jan. 29, 1926 DK Dor. Rel. Feb. 3, 1926 DK May 10, 1926 Evad. earfare May 25, 1926 DK So. Boston Sept. 21, 1926 DK July 14, 1926 DK So. Boston Sept. 21, 1926 DK So. Boston Sept. 21, 1927 DK So. Boston June 3, 1927 DK So. Boston May 4, 1928 DK May 4, 1928 DK May 4, 1928 DK May 4, 1928 DK Central Mar. 5, 1928 DK May 4, 1928 DK Central Mar. 20, 1929 J&D Suf. Sup. Suf. Suf. Sup. Suf. Sup. Suf. Suf. Sup. Suf.					
Nov.   St.   1925   DK   St.   Farm   com.	June 2, 1925	DW I&D	Central	6-8	
Feb.         3, 1926         DK         " Filed           May         25, 1926         DK         Central         On file           July         14, 1926         DK         So. Boston         On file           Sept. 21, 1926         DK         Central         10 dys. jail           June         2, 1927         DK         " Filed           June         3, 1927         DK         " 10 dys. jail           Aug.         5, 1927         DK         " 10 dys. jail           Aug.         5, 1927         DK         " 10 dys. jail           Mar.         5, 1927         DK         " 1 mo. jail           Mar.         5, 1928         DK         E. Boston         RPO           May         4, 1928         DK         E. Boston         RPO           May         4, 1928         DK         Central         1 mo. jail           Mar.         20, 1929         I&D         " 3-22         St. Farm; ap.           Apr.         3, 1929         DK         Central         RPO           Aug.         3, 1929         DK         " 8-5         Prob. 2-5-30           Sept.         9, 1929         DK Sur.         " 5-15; 5-17         Implica					
May 10, 1926					
May 25, 1926 DK	Feb. 3, 1926				
July         14, 1926         DK         So. Boston         On file           Sept. 21, 1926         DK         Central         10 dys. jail           June         2, 1927         DK         " Filed           June         3, 1927         DK         " 10 dys. jail           Aug.         5, 1928         DK         " 1 mo. jail           Mar.         5, 1928         DK         E. Boston         RPO           May         4, 1928         DK         Central         1 mo. jail           Mar.         20, 1929         I&D         " 3-22         St. Farm; ap.           Apr.         3, 1929         " 3-22         St. Farm; ap.           Apr.         3, 1929         " Suf. Sup.         2 mos. jail           July         27, 1929         DK         " 8-5         Prob. 2-5-30           Sept.         9, 1929         DK         " St. Farm         May         14, 1930         DK         " St. Farm           May         14, 1930         DK         " 5-15; 5-17         1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30         On file           June         11, 1930         DK         " 5-15; 5-17; 1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30         On file         Image: pr. 11-12-30         On file         Image: pr. 11-	May 10, 1926	Evad. carfare	. 46		Filed
Sept. 21, 1926         DK         Central         10 dys. jail           June 2, 1927         DK         "Filed           June 3, 1927         DK         "10 dys. jail           Aug. 5, 1927         DK         "1 mo. jail           Mar. 5, 1928         DK         E. Boston         RPO           May 4, 1928         DK         "RPO           Dec. 17, 1928         DK         Central         1 mo. jail           Mar. 20, 1929         I&D         "3-22         St. Farm; ap.           Apr. 3, 1929         "Suf. Sup.         2 mos. jail           July 27, 1929         DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 3, 1929         DK         "St. Farm; ap.           Sept. 9, 1929         DK         "Sept. 9, 1929         DK           Sept. 9, 1929         DK Sur.         "St. Farm           May 14, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           June 11, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           June 11, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           June 11, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           Aug. 4, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           Aug. 23, 1930         DK         "St. Farm           Rept. 16, 1930	May 25, 1926	DK	Central		On file
June 2, 1927 DK " Filed  June 3, 1927 DK " 10 dys. jail  Aug. 5, 1927 DK " 1 mo. jail  Mar. 5, 1928 DK E. Boston RPO  May 4, 1928 DK " RPO  Dec. 17, 1928 DK " RPO  Dec. 17, 1928 DK " 3-22 St. Farm; ap.  Apr. 3, 1929 " Suf. Sup. 2 mos. jail  July 27, 1929 DK " 8-5 Prob. 2-5-30  Sept. 9, 1929 DK " On file  Sept. 9, 1929 DK " St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK " St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK " 5-15; 5-17 1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30  June 11, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail  Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO  Filed Committed to Medfield State	July 14, 1926	DK	So. Boston		On file
June 2, 1927 DK  June 3, 1927 DK  May 4, 1928 DK  May 4, 1928 DK  May 4, 1928 DK  Mar. 5, 1928 DK  May 4, 1928 DK  Mar. 7, 1928 DK  Mar. 20, 1929 I&D  Apr. 3, 1929  Suf. Sup.  Central  Suf. Sup.  Central  RPO  May 27, 1929 DK  May 27, 1929 DK  May 3, 1929 DK  May 3, 1929 DK  May 3, 1929 DK  May 4, 1930 DK  May 14, 1930 DK  May	Sept. 21, 1926	DK			10 dys. jail
Aug. 5, 1927 DK " 1 mo. jail  Mar. 5, 1928 DK E. Boston RPO  May 4, 1928 DK " RPO  Dec. 17, 1928 DK Central 1 mo. jail  Mar. 20, 1929 I&D " 3-22 St. Farm; ap.  Apr. 3, 1929 " Suf. Sup. 2 mos. jail  July 27, 1929 DK Central RPO  Aug. 3, 1929 DK " 8-5 Prob. 2-5-30  Sept. 9, 1929 DK " On file  Sept. 9, 1929 DK " St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK " St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK " 5-15; 5-17 Im JSS; pr. 11-12-30  June 11, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK " Imo. jail  Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston Sl0. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " St. RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO  Apr. 14, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO  Filed, Committed to Medfield State	June 2, 1927	DK	44		Filed
Mar. 5, 1928 DK  May 4, 1928 DK  Dec. 17, 1928 DK  Mar. 20, 1929 I&D  Apr. 3, 1929  July 27, 1929 DK  Sept. 9, 1929 DK  May 14, 1930 DK  May 14, 1930 DK  June 11, 1930 DK  June 11, 1930 DK  Aug. 3, 1930 DK  Central  May 14, 1930 DK  May 23, 1930 DK  Central  May 14, 1930 DK  May 21, 1933 DK  May 2, 1933 DK  May 1, 1934 DK  May 2, 1934 DK  May 3, 1934 DK  May 2, 1935 DK  May 2, 1934 DK  May 2, 1935 DK  May 2, 1934 DK  May 3, 1934 DK  May 3, 1934 DK  May 2, 1935 DK  May 2, 1935 DK  May 2, 1935 DK  May 2, 1936 DK  May 2, 1936 DK  May 2, 1937 DK  May 2, 1938 DK  May 2, 19	June 3, 1927	DK	44		10 dys. jail
May         4, 1928         DK         "         RPO           Dec.         17, 1928         DK         1 mo. jail           Mar.         20, 1929         I&D         "         3-22         St. Farm; ap.           Apr.         3, 1929         "         Suf. Sup.         2 mos. jail           July         27, 1929         DK         Central         RPO           Aug.         3, 1929         DK         "         8-5         Prob. 2-5-30           Sept.         9, 1929         DK         "         On file           Sept.         9, 1929         DK         "         St. Farm           May 14, 1930         DK         "         St. Farm           June 11, 1930         DK         "         On file           June 11, 1930         DK         "         On file           June 11, 1930         DK         "         I mo. jail           Aug.         4, 1930         DK         So. Boston         \$10. com.           Aug.         23, 1930         DK         "         9-18         1 mo. jail           Sept. 16, 1930         DK         "         9-18         1 mo. jail           Apr.         14, 1933 <td>Aug. 5, 1927</td> <td>DK</td> <td>44</td> <td></td> <td>1 mo. jail</td>	Aug. 5, 1927	DK	44		1 mo. jail
Dec. 17, 1928   DK	Mar. 5, 1928	DK	E. Boston		RPO
Mar. 20, 1929       I&D       " 3-22       St. Farm; ap.         Apr. 3, 1929       " Suf. Sup.       2 mos. jail         July 27, 1929       DK       Central       RPO         Aug. 3, 1929       DK       " 8-5       Prob. 2-5-30         Sept. 9, 1929       DK       " On file         Sept. 9, 1929       DK Sur.       " St. Farm         May 14, 1930       DK       " On file         June 11, 1930       DK       " On file         June 11, 1930       DK       " Imo. jail         Aug. 4, 1930       DK       So. Boston       \$10. com.         Aug. 23, 1930       DK       Central       2 dys. jail         Sept. 16, 1930       DK       " RPO         May 2, 1933       DK       " RPO         May 2, 1933       DK       " RPO         Apr. 1, 1934       DK       " RPO         Apr. 19, 1934<	May 4, 1928	DK	6.4		RPO
Apr. 3, 1929 "  Apr. 3, 1929 DK  Aug. 3, 1929 DK  Suf. Sup.  Central  RPO  Aug. 3, 1929 DK  Sept. 9, 1929 DK  Sup.  May 14, 1930 DK  Sup.  Sup. Sup.	Dec. 17, 1928	DK	Central		1 mo. jail
July 27, 1929 DK Central RPO  Aug. 3, 1929 DK " 8-5 Prob. 2-5-30  Sept. 9, 1929 DK " On file  Sept. 9, 1929 DK Sur. " St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK " In JSS; pr. 11-12-30  June 11, 1930 DK Sur. " I mo. jail  Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 I mo. jail  Apr. 14, 1933 DK " SPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	Mar. 20, 1929	I&D	6.6	3-22	St. Farm; ap.
Aug. 3, 1929 DK " 8-5 Prob. 2-5-30 Sept. 9, 1929 DK " On file Sept. 9, 1929 DK Sur. " St. Farm May 14, 1930 DK " 5-15; 5-17 1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30 June 11, 1930 DK " On file June 11, 1930 DK " In m JSS; pr. 11-12-30 June 11, 1930 DK Sur. " I mo. jail Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com. Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO May 2, 1933 DK " RPO May 22, 1933 DK " Filed May 22, 1933 DK " RPO Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	Apr. 3, 1929	1.6	Suf. Sup.		2 mos. jail
Sept. 9, 1929 DK "On file Sept. 9, 1929 DK Sur. "St. Farm May 14, 1930 DK "St. Farm May 14, 1930 DK "On file June 11, 1930 DK "In mo, jail Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail Sept. 16, 1930 DK "9-18 1 mo, jail Apr. 14, 1933 DK "RPO May 2, 1933 DK "RPO May 22, 1933 DK "RPO May 22, 1933 DK "RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK "RPO	July 27, 1929	DK	Central		RPO
Sept. 9, 1929 DK Sur. "St. Farm  May 14, 1930 DK "5-15; 5-17 Im JSS; pr. 11-12-30  June 11, 1930 DK "On file  June 11, 1930 DK Sur. "Imo. jail  Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK "9-18 Imo. jail  Apr. 14, 1933 DK "BPO  May 2, 1933 DK "RPO  May 22, 1933 DK "Filed  May 22, 1933 DK "RPO  Apr. 1, 1934 DK "RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK "RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK "RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK "RPO	Aug. 3, 1929	DK	6.6	8-5	Prob. 2-5-30
May 14, 1930 DK " 5-15; 5-17 1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30  June 11, 1930 DK " On file  June 11, 1930 DK Sur. " I mo. jail  Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail  Apr. 14, 1933 DK " 8PO  May 2, 1933 DK " RPO  May 22, 1933 DK " Filed  May 22, 1933 DK " RPO  Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	Sept. 9, 1929	DK	4.6		On file
May 2, 1933 DK " So. Boston Silo. com.  Aug. 23, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail  Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9-18 1 mo. jail  Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " Filed  May 22, 1933 DK " Filed  Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	Sept. 9, 1929	DK Sur.	4.4		St. Farm
June 11, 1930 DK Sur. " 1 mo. jail Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com. Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9–18 1 mo. jail Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO May 2, 1933 DK " Filed May 22, 1933 DK " Filed Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	May 14, 1930	DK	" 5-15;	5-17	1 m JSS; pr. 11-12-30
Aug. 4, 1930 DK So. Boston \$10. com. Aug. 23, 1930 DK Central 2 dys. jail Sept. 16, 1930 DK " 9–18 1 mo. jail Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO May 2, 1933 DK " Filed May 22, 1933 DK " RPO Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 DK " RPO	June 11, 1930	DK	6.6		On file
Aug. 23, 1930       DK       Central       2 dys. jail         Sept. 16, 1930       DK       " 9-18 1 mo. jail         Apr. 14, 1933       DK       " RPO         May 2, 1933       DK       " Filed         May 22, 1933       DK       " RPO         Apr. 1, 1934       DK       " RPO         Apr. 19, 1934       Dk       " APO         Apr. 19, 1934       Dk       " APO         Apr. 19, 1934       Dk       " APO	June 11, 1930	DK Sur.	6.6		1 mo. jail
Sept. 16, 1930       DK       "       9-18       1 mo. jail         Apr. 14, 1933       DK       "       RPO         May 2, 1933       DK       "       Filed         May 22, 1933       DK       "       "         Apr. 1, 1934       DK       "       RPO         Apr. 19, 1934       Dk       "       4-20       Filed, Committed to Medfield State	Aug. 4, 1930	DK	So. Boston		\$10. com.
Apr. 14, 1933 DK " RPO  May 2, 1933 DK " Filed  May 22, 1933 DK " "  Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO  Apr. 19, 1934 DK " A-20 Filed, Committed to Medfield State	Aug. 23, 1930	DK	Central		2 dys. jail
May 2, 1933 DK "Filed May 22, 1933 DK "Filed Apr. 1, 1934 DK "RPO Apr. 19, 1934 Dk "Apr. 19, 1934 Dk "	Sept. 16, 1930	DK	44	9-18	1 mo. jail
May 2, 1933 DK " " " " Apr. 1, 1934 DK " " Apr. 19, 1934 Dk " " 4-20 Filed, Committed to Medfield State	Apr. 14, 1933	DK	6.6		RPO
Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 Dk " 4-20 Filed, Committed to Medfield State	May 2, 1933	DK	44		Filed
Apr. 1, 1934 DK " RPO Apr. 19, 1934 Dk " 4-20 Filed, Committed to Medfield State		DK	44		44
Apr. 19, 1934 Dk " 4-20 Filed, Committed to Medfield State			66		RPO
		Dk	6.6	4-20	Filed, Committed to Medfield State
Flosp.					Hosp.

# Record complete to August 31, 1943.

#### Hospitalization Record.

Boston City Hospital:

Mar. 10, 1934 to Apr. 7, 1934. Asthma, broncho-pneumonia.

Boston Psychopathic Hospital:

May 3, 1928 to May 10, 1928. Psychosis with other brain disease.

Nov. 12, 1930 to Nov. 21, 1930. Undiagnosed psychosis.

Worcester State Hospital:

May 10, 1928 to Nov. 12, 1929. Alcoholic psychosis.

Westborough State Hospital:

Nov. 21, 1930 to Aug. 23, 1933. Alcoholic psychosis.

Medfield State Hospital:

Apr. 20, 1934 to Jan. 30, 1936. Alcoholic psychosis, pathological intoxication.

Gardner State Hospital:

Jan. 30, 1936. Died Aug. 23, 1943. Alcoholic psychosis.

# Chapter X.

THE PROBATION SYSTEM RELATING TO INEBRIETY DISCUSSED.

Probation can be effective in proper cases. The objectives of probation are largely the salvaging of the drinker's health, capacity for work, and social standing, thereby rescuing him and his dependents from poverty and neglect; and safeguarding private and public funds from the unnecessary onslaughts occasioned by his and perchance his dependents' inability to lawfully satisfy the natural requirements and urges of life.

It is only a truism to say that a drinker's health, capacity for work, and social standing cannot be salvaged when they are irretrievably lost. It is obvious that no human system can accomplish the impossible. But it is also clear that probation can help, when conditions are amenable to its influences.

Much of the criticism directed at the probation system is not justified. Generalizations to the effect that probation is ineffective in drunkenness cases are also unfounded. Considerable literature is found to the effect that probation is ineffective in drunkenness cases. This, of course, is true in the case of the socalled "rounder" and chronic alcoholic, but it is far from true when applied to the early stages of inebriety, if properly applied. It then can be very effective in the hands of skillful operators; but to be more so there must be team play between the police department, probation department, judges of the municipal and district courts, and of the Superior Courts, and the district attorneys. Lack of co-operation will wreck the most painstaking efforts at salvaging that can be established under our present system. Unless careful treatment is brought into play, at early stages of inebriety, probation cannot any more succeed in salvaging the inebriate than can medicine or any other agency designed for that purpose. Improper treatment, for whatever cause, on the part of reviewing courts or other officials, under which the beginner is not stopped in his downward path, results usually in chronic drunkenness. Too lenient or careless treatment with the beginner spells defeat; and with the chronic it speeds him from the penal institution to the hospital or pauper institution, or to the morgue. A typical case follows. (See personal chart 133-Z.)

YEAR	Z	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DE
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910					F		S.F.					
1911					R		-	M			S.E	
1912	3	M H	7		SE		F	RET.	TO S			
1913		RET.	Yo	5.F								
1914		F										
1915	FP	FIM		2-M	10		S.F			5	F.	
1916	PSF	F	s.									
1917	, 55			FF		SF		R	P			F
1918	F	===\$	F.									F
1919	,				F			3MP		F3M FSS	3-M	
1920				SF	-		FSF	P	FSFP	F 35	5 F	
1921		S.F.		F		S	F	1	47 507	P		F 51
1922	F	5.	_	P				RET. 16	33			S.I
1923		S.F.		Ps:F		S.F.						FI
1924	PF		TO S.	-					PF	S.	F	
1925	PSF F		S.	-			9.5			RET. TO		
1926	S.F.	E	RET. TO				S.	-				
	J. 11			3275		EORI	M.S.			<b>Б-</b> М		
1927			F		RELITO		F	RET	70	S. F		
1928	, ,			F	Kt L 10	REL T	-	RE L	iv —		19 S.	-3:
1929	J 15	1.	3	f.		N.C. S.	- Unit :	,	- 0	FT TO		
1930	5.		TO 5	S.F			- =	I-M		5	-	
1931	F	- Kar	10 0			-	F	PSF	D	X-21		E
1932			SF.		FSFP				L.		G F	
1933	5.1	F	SFP		T 55P			1		R P	SS F	-
1934		n 1	F RW_			R	W.			K P	55 F	
1935			FSSF					NVIII	141111	7//2/2/	12/11/	1/12
1936	R.	W.	7//////	M	111111111111111111111111111111111111111	M J.	A	P /		SYA	777	777
1937								1/////				1//
1938												
1939		TEXA	KSB	URX		57	ATE		110	SPY		
1940												11/1
1941					DIED	AUS	5119/1					-
1942												
1943												

#### PERSONAL CHART 133-Z.

## Penological Record.

Female; born in 1878; lived under fifteen different aliases in sixteen different places in the South End of Boston and Roxbury.

May 14, 1910	Mal. Mischief	Central		On File
May 25, 1910	Dk	4.6		St. Farm
May 2, 1911	**	4.6		RPO
July 6, 1911	4.4	* 6		RPO .
July 23, 1911	* 6	4 -		1 Mo HC
Sept. 3, 1911	1.6	46	9-6	St. Farm
Dec. 16, 1911	84	4.6		3 Months HC
Mar. 27, 1912	4.6	4.6		St. Farm
Aug. 5, 1912	4.6	Roxbury		On File-Ret. St. Farm
Jan. 1, 1913	4.6	Central		On File-Ret. St. Farm
Feb. 25, 1914	14	8.6	3-2	On File
Dec. 2, 1914	41	4.6		RPO
Dec. 30, 1914	44	5.5	1-4	Prob 7-14-15
Jan. 27, 1915	41	14	2-2	On File
Jan. 27, 1915	Surr-Dk	65		Prob 8-11-15
Feb. 2, 1915	Dk .	6.6		On File
Feb. 2, 1915	Surr-Dk	6.5		1 Mo Jail
Mar. 2, 1915	Dk	4 +		2 Mo HC
May 3, 1915	Dk	4.5		10 days Jail
May 24, 1915	Dk	4.		St. Farm
Sept. 19, 1915	Dk	65	9-21	St. Farm
Jan. 27, 1916	Dk	4 6	0 21	SF SS Prob 8-2-16
Feb. 12, 1916	Dk	6.6		On File
Feb. 12, 1916	Surr	6.6		St. Farm
Apr. 17, 1917	Dk	4.6		On File
Apr. 23, 1917	Dk	6.6	4-30	On File
Apr. 30, 1917	Dk	4.6	4-30	
Aug. 7, 1917	Dk			St. Farm RPO
	Dk	6.6	0.77	
Sept. 13, 1917	Dk	4.5	9-17	Prob 3-20-18
Dec. 27, 1917	Surr-Dk			On File
Dec. 27, 1917		6.6		St. Farm SS Prob 6-26-13
Jan. 7, 1918	Dk	4.		On File
Jan. 7, 1918	Surr-Dk	4.6		St. Farm
Dec. 24, 1918	Dk		# aa	RPO
May 27, 1919	Dk	Central	5–29	On File
Aug. 4, 1919	4.	64	8-6	3 Mo HCSS Pr 2-4-20
Oct. 19, 1919		44		On File
Oct. 19, 1919	Surr	"		3 Mo HC SS Prob 4-21-20
Nov. 11, 1919	Dk	**		On File
Nov. 11, 1919	Surr			3 Mo Jail
Nov. 11, 1919	Vile & Indec. Actions	3		0 7711
	on Comm			On File
Apr. 24, 1920	Dk	Central	4-27	St. Farm SS Prob 10-27-20
July 8, 1920	Dk	**		On File
July 8, 1920	Surr-Dk	44		St. Farm SS Prob 1-5-21
Sept. 4, 1920	Dk	74		On File
Sept. 4, 1920	Surr-Dk			St. Farm SS Prob 3-9-21
Oct. 25, 1920	Surr-Dk	44		St. Farm-
Apr. 15, 1921	Dk	66	4-18	On File
Sept. 6, 1921	Rel. on parole from S		expire 10-	
Sept. 21, 1921	Dk	Central		St. Farm SS Prob 3-22-22
Dec. 5, 1921	Dk	6.6		Filed
Dec. 5, 1921	Surr	44	12-7	St. Farm SS Prob 6-7-22
Jan. 9, 1922	Dk	6.6		Filed
Jan. 9, 1922	Surr	65		St. Farm
Apr. 14, 1922	Dk	**		Prob 11-10-22

July 19, 1922	Par. War.	Central		Ret. St. Farm
Nov. 18, 1922	Rel. on parole from		expire 4-1	8-23
Nov. 20, 1922	Dk	Brookline		On File-Ret St. Farm
Apr. 5, 1923	Rel. on parole from	St. Farm to	expire 4-2	0-23
Apr. 27, 1923	Dk	Central	_	SF SS Prob 10-31-23
May 1, 1923	Dk	6.4	5-4	On File
May 1, 1923	Surr-Dk	44	5-4	St. Farm
Dec. 10, 1923	Dk	4.6		On File
Dec. 19, 1923	Dk	44	12-24	On File
Jan. 11, 1924	Dk	4.4	1-14	Prob 7-16-24
Jan. 15, 1924	Dk	84		On File
Jan. 15, 1924	Surr-Dk	44		On File -Ret. St. Farm
	Rel. on parole from	St Farm to	expire 10-	
May 16, 1924 Sept. 7, 1924	Dk	Central	9-9	Prob 3-11-25
Sept. 12, 1924	Dk	44		On File
-	Surr-Dk	4.6		St. Farm
Sept. 12, 1924	Dk		2-3	St. Farm SS Prob 8-5-25
Jan. 29, 1925	Dk	4.6	2 0	On File
Feb. 4, 1925	Surr-Dk	44		St. Farm
Feb. 4, 1925		44		St. Farm
May 13, 1925	Dk	**		On File-Ret. St. Farm
Sept. 15, 1925	Dk	#4		On File-Ret. St. Farm
Feb. 23, 1926	Dk	4.6		On File
May 25, 1926	Dk	44	6-1	1 Mo Jail
May 27, 1926	Dk	4.4	0-1	St. Farm
July 7, 1926	Dk	4.6		
July 15, 1927	Forn	**	11 77	3 Mo Jail–App 1 Mo Jail
Oct. 3, 1927	Dk	4.4	11-7	
Nov. 4, 1927	Dk	64		1 Mo Jail
Dec. 7, 1927	Dk			St. Farm
Mar. 7, 1928	Rel. on parole from		expire 12-	
Mar. 16, 1928	Dk	Central	. 10	On File-Ret. St. Farm
July 16, 1928	Rel. on parole from		expire 12-	
July 24, 1928	Dk	Central	. 10	On File-Ret. St. Farm
Dec. 10, 1928	Rel. on parole from			
Dec. 17, 1928	Dk	Central	12–18	1 Mo Jail
Jan. 16, 1929	Dk	44	1-18	15 days Jail
Feb. 2, 1929	Dk			St. Farm
May 6, 1929	Rel. on parole from			O. El Det to St Form
May 7, 1929	Dk	Central		On File-Ret. to St. Farm
Sept. 9, 1929	Rel. on parole from		expire 1-2	
Oct. 7, 1929	Dk	Central	. 0 4	On File-Ret. St. Farm
Feb. 18, 1930	Rel. on parole from		expire 3-4	
Mar. 6, 1930	Dk	Central		St. Farm
June 6, 1930	Rel. on parole from			
Sept. 6, 1930	Dk	Central	9-8	On File-Ret. St. Farm
Jan. 8, 1931	Rel. on parole from		expire 6-7	-61 Det Gt Ferri
Jan. 20, 1931	Dk	Central		Filed-Ret. St. Farm
June 4, 1931	Rel. on parole from		expire 6-1	9-31
July 6, 1931	Dk	Malden		On File
July 27, 1931	Dk	Central		1 Mo Jail
Aug. 27, 1931	Dk			St. Farm
Sept. 2, 1932	Dk	44		St. Farm SS Prob 9-27-38
Oct. 31, 1932	Dk			On File
Oct. 31, 1932	Surr-Dk	41		St. Farm
Jan. 31, 1933	Rel. on parole from		expire 10-	30-33
Feb. 24, 1933	Dk	Central		Filed
Mar. 20, 1933	Dk	44		St. Farm SS Prob 9-20-33
May 8, 1933	Dk	64		On File
May 8, 1933	Surr-Dk	44		St. Farm SS Prob 11-8-33
Aug. 31, 1933	Dk	Roxbury		On File
Sept. 1, 1933	Surr-Dk	Central		St. Farm
Oct. 8, 1934	Dk	Roxbury		Rel
	2711			
Nov. 19, 1934	Dk	Central		1 Mo Jail SS Prob 5-22-35
Nov. 19, 1934 Nov. 30, 1934				1 Mo Jail SS Prob 5-22-35 On File

Nov. 30, 1934	Surr-Dk	Central	1 Mo Jail
Feb. 11, 1935	Dk	Roxbury	Prob 1 Year
Mar. 4, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed-Ret. Roxbury Court
Mar. 4, 1935	Surr-Dk	Roxbury	RW SS Prob 3-4-36
Mar. 12, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed-Del. Roxbury Court
Mar. 12, 1935	Surr-Dk	Roxbury	R.W.
Mar. 14, 1936	Dk	Central	1 Mo Jail
May 12, 1936	Dk	14	2 Mo Jail
July 20, 1936	Dk	Roxbury	R.W. App
Aug. 3, 1936	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd

Record complete to August 23, 1943.

### Hospitalization Record.

Boston City Hospital:

May 6, 1926 to May 29, 1926. Alcoholism; abrasion, right leg: fell down stairs while drunk.

Tewksbury State Hospital:

August 4, 1936. Died Aug. 5, 1941.

Probation, in order to accomplish results, must be in the hands of broad-minded, sympathetic and tactful persons, to be sure, but who also have the ability to carefully investigate and properly appraise human worth and the courage and fortitude to say "no" when occasion demands it.

It is important for such officers to know the man, his background or environment, his physical and mental condition and equipment. To do his work properly he should know not only the criminal record and record of arrests for drunkenness, but also his hospitalization record and the "rounder record" he has made of charitable institutions and public infirmaries. He should be able to inform and advise, in some cases at least, the court as to the best plan for salvaging the person under consideration. It should be borne in mind that judges are not infallible, and not always good penologists. This weakness is inherent in every human agency, hence the diversity of method in the use of the "tools" which are placed at the disposal of him who is supposed to know how best to apply them.

What has been said as to probation officers, in general, applies even more so to judges. It should be obvious that judges should be informed about our penal system, its objectives, its limitations and its ability to fulfill them. In other words, judges and probation officers, in addition to knowing the man to be handled, should also know the ability of the institutions to carry out the objectives desired. All this is so elemental and obvious that it seems almost like a waste of time to further dwell upon it.

Yet how many of these officials have a thorough knowledge of

our penal system? I venture to say that there are some who have never visited, to say nothing of studying the scope and purpose of, our penal institutions. Fortunately, Massachusetts on the whole has a judiciary that is well qualified and sufficiently courageous to properly carry on and apply the methods placed at its disposal by the laws of our State, but we fear this does not apply to all our judges and other officials working with them. It should be obvious that, like a good mechanic, a well-qualified judge or other official can, within the discretion permitted, perform good work even with an imperfect system, while an unqualified judge, or other official, like a poor mechanic, may give poor work with the best system ever devised. All this manifestly means that judges, probation officers and district attorneys must be carefully selected and appointed. Here lies the cause of the failures of personnel. The best material one can find is none too good to start with.

How can the man who has had little or no penological training before his election or appointment, all at once be expected to be a good penologist? And how can a man without "a backbone" avoid the pressure that every one connected with the administration of justice in penological fields knows is brought to bear upon him? We all know enough about probation to realize that it is a splendid preventive and salvaging system when properly operated (see the report of the advisory Committee on Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, appointed by the mayor of Boston (dated November 17, 1898), at pp. 21 to 26, to be had from our State Library, bound under the title "Prohibition Pamphlets, 1877 to 1914"), and that when not so operated it can be "a harbor of refuge" for racketeers who have made up their minds to get the kind of living they want, "no matter how." Many of the so-called "rounders" of the inebriate field come within this class. They escape proper treatment by "the inherent weakness" of all good systems, improper personnel operating the penological machinery. A study of cases so plainly brings out this truth that there is no need of further comment, except, perchance, to point out that "probation legislation" is sufficient for the purposes intended, if properly operated. There is need of integrated action, to be sure, but there is no valid reason why all needed information for proper evaluation and disposition of inebriates beyond the "beginner class" cannot be obtained for the court or district attorney. if it is so desired, except, perchance, that the "case load" in some cases is too heavy for the number of probation officers now employed, if all the pertinent fields above referred to were to be thoroughly explored.

"Last year (1909) 6,303 men and 1,116 women convicted of drunkenness were placed on probation in the courts of this Commonwealth, while nearly 34,000 persons were released without being arraigned in court." In all, 7,419 were placed on probation for drunkenness and these were to be supervised by 108 probation officers. Some job!

A good illustration to show how much of a load probation officers are required to carry is contained in an article by Edwin H. Mulready, Esquire, former Commissioner of Probation, Boston, Mass., read before the Massachusetts Society of Examining Physicians, May 31, 1910, and reported in the New England Medical monthly of December, 1910, at page 451, in which he points out that in 1909 there were 90,550 arrests for drunkenness in Massachusetts, and over 78,000 of these cases were personally investigated by the probation officers, and when we consider that in this State there are only 108 probation officers, the great burden upon this arm of the judicial system is tremendous!

We would go into these matters more fully if we felt that probation was a failure and not adequate for the purposes it was intended to serve. It is clear that its failure to prevent drunkenness is not an inherent weakness. Some of its failures can be laid at the feet of an improper personnel connected with its operation; but most of its alleged shortcomings are not those of the probation system, but rather of a penological system which enables persons to so disable themselves as not to be redeemable by any human agency.

We append hereto personal chart 26–Z, typical of cases explored, which eloquently illustrates how probation has been used and abused. The disastrous ultimate effects shown by these charts are further convincing evidence of the need of applying preventive measures to early stages of intemperance. (Note also the number of nol-pros granted this offender.)

That probation is effective when properly applied is evidenced by three "spot surveys" of the efficacy of probation. One is of cases placed on probation by the justices of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston during the year 1893. This shows the outcome of cases placed on probation in which the offence was plain drunkenness, as well as those in which the charge was for some other criminal offence.

The second survey covers cases placed on probation in the same court in the year ending August 31, 1935. "Drunkenness" cases and "criminal" cases are segregated, so that the results in each may be readily observed. It will be noticed that 475 of the

822 drunkenness cases placed on probation were successful. In view of the fact that many cases placed on probation were only treated in that manner for strategic purposes, it is obvious that it cannot be said that probation is ineffective in drunkenness cases.

A word of explanation may be useful of the apparent high rate of violations of suspended sentences to the jails, houses of correction and State Farm. It would seem on the face of the survey that the judges granting probation were highly in error in granting probation to confirmed "rounders." But a study of the situation will disclose that in most of these cases probation with a suspended sentence was granted by the court, with knowledge that the defendant would not keep his probation, but would most likely be back for a confirmation of sentence, which would have been proper in the first place, but which, if imposed would probably have resulted in an appeal followed by a nol-pros. More will be said about this situation in Suffolk County later, so we leave this field without further comment.

The third survey covers only "drunkenness cases" placed on probation in the same court for the year 1943. These surveys show that probation is not ineffective even when applied in a penological system that is given the impossible task of salvaging many who are unsalvageable.

Survey of Dispositions of Probation Cases by Judges of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston as reported by its Probation Department for the Year 1893.

					M	en.					
Drunkenness:											
Continued	./									156	
Dismissed		0								198	
Default .										78	
No disposition	on								٠	35	
Sentenced			٠							23	
											490
Criminal:											
Continued										30	
Dismissed					۰					102	
Default .		٠								18	
No dispositio	on									14	
Sentenced	• "			٠				٠		7	
											171

#### Women. Drunkenness: Continued 44 Dismissed 86 Default . 44 No disposition 14 Sentenced 10 198 Criminal: Continued 21 Dismissed 39 Default . 29 No disposition 8 Sentenced 3 100

Number placed on Probation, September 1, 1934, to August 31, 1935, inclusive, by the Municipal Court of the City of Boston.

													PROBATION.	ATION.	SUSPENDER PROB.	SUSPENDED SENTENCE, PROBATION.	SUSPEND	SUSPENDED FINE, PROBATION.	Total	Total
													Drumk.	Criminal.	Drunk.	Criminal.	Drunk.	Criminal.	Drunk.	Criminal
September																				
Men .	٠	•	٠		٠		٠		٠	٠	. •		2	24	62	45	63	81	7.1	150
Women	٠		۰			•	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠		12	90	19	17	ŧ	4	31	29
October																				
Men .		٠	٠	٠		٠	٠	•	٠	٠	٠	•	12	36	6	42	1.	88	21	167
Women	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	•	۰	٠		10	90	4	17	1	13	14	00
November																				
Men .	٠		٠	٠	٠	٠		٠	٠	٠	٠	•	16	90	10	31	quel	41	27	122
Women	4	•	٠		٠	•	4	٠	٠	4			es.	10	190	11	1	2	13	31
December																				
Men .	٠	٠		۰	٠	٠	. *		1.4		٠		ಬ	30	10	38	60	2.2	18	145
Women	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠		٠		٠	٠		•	ಣ	19	4	188	1	20	7	43
January																				
Men .	٠	٠	٠	٠		٠	4	٠	٠	٠	٠		13	36	49	43	1	102	62	181
Women	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	۰	٠	۰	٠	٠		10	6	17	13	1	00	27	30
February																				
Men .	4	9	٠	٠	٠	٠	٠						2	30	48	33	8	56	64	119
Women		٠		.0	٠	٠	٠	٠	۰	٠		,	r3	90	90	7	1	6	13	17

	163		\$ QE	6	132	99	131	100		145	97	19	174	, cz	70	100	123	7.7		1,752	417
-	36	CC	77	00	000	54	60	24		70	47	P P	63	3.4	10	hf	10	PT I		552	270
-	99	8	5	0	00	4	89	15		08	ra		72	1		7.7	5 6			857	74
tes	ı	1		qu.	4 1		H	ı		yout	-		*	1		1				22	₩
27000	40	22		50	10		43	19		40	20		09	20		00	000		1	411	182
E-manufacture of the Control of the	18	4		26	10		7.1	10		39	39		52	15		7	. 0.		***	401	147
-	22	23		35	16		20	17		25	63		42	25		33	11		9	61*	161
	18	100		11	6		10	14		15	7		7	19		00	10		190	163	122
																					•
	٠																				
	٠																				
	٠.																				
	٠																				
																				,	
March	Men .	Women	April	Men .	Women	May	Men .	Women	June	Men .	Women	July	Men .	Women	August	Men .	Women	Total	Men	Women	Al Oute

Dispositions of Cases placed on Probation, September 1, 1934, to August 31, 1935, inclusive, by the Municipal Court of the City of Boston.

		-	-											
	Drs.	Dismissed.	FINE	FINE PAID.	DEFAULT.	ULT.	Filed.	ED.	Сомміттер.	TTED.	On Probation, Same Case, Aug. 31, 1935.	CASE, 1, 1935.	ON PROBATION, SAME CASE, 1944.	CASE,
	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.	Drunk.	Crim- inal.
September														
Men	20	45	2	74	10	18	63	9	41	9	į	10	ı	1
Women	16	20	1	4	ಣ	ಣ	#	ı	11	7	1	2	ı	1
October														
Men	11	20	1	84	1	12	8	9	7	13	1	00	ı	63
Women .	10	19	1	10	-	63	1	2	ಣ	10	63	90	1	ı
November					-									
Men	6	63	-	35	4	17	4	63	6	25	ı	13	1	ı
Women	70	26	1	67	<b>—</b>	73	5	1	70	-	П	4	1	ı
December														
Men	7	42	67	986	63	9	1	4	9	4	-	10	f	60
Women .	4	32	1	ro	1		1	1	က	4	83	7	ŀ	1
January														
Men	19	22	-	66	00	7	4	63	30	13	23	26	1	60
Women	16	12	1	10	က	4	ı	-	00	က	20	6	1	1
February														
Men	23	40	10	53	00	17	9	23	22	r3	ı	9	ı	63
Women	2	9	1	23	7	20	1	-	4	64	1	2	1	1

	9	1		4	qued		60	t.		4	1		9	63		63	1		37	4,
	ı	1		ŧ	1		1	1		ı	-		1	1		1	1		1	1
	2.2	23		46	33		50	35		69	21		101	41		66	19		485	217
	19	17		19	10		00	17	47-00-77	24	31		39	27		0	27		192	142
-	r-	61		1-	61		ū	20		ç	20	37	14	9		4	က		30	36
	17	7		18	7		46	10		32	77		30	00		9	20		264	88
	7	1		pool	í		21	23		-	ţ		4	24		1	1		37	00
	80	1	٠	4	co		ಣ	67		10	2		t	1		62	=		37	11
	10	44		15	ů,		15	90		11	9		22	9		15	9		165	25
	2	4		10	1		10	52		10	77		14	7		2.0	1		70	29
	63	ನಾ		89	ಣ		19	91		80	4		71	00		57	ಣ		831	02
	t	1		-	1		-	ı		1	1		ces	1		ı	1		91	
	20	29		37	24		45	22		41	14		52	500		44	15		594	247
	11	11		10	00		22	1-		13	56		15	275	٠	-da	13		164	145
		٠									٠									
March	Men .	Women .	April	Men .	Women .	May	Men .	Women .	June	Men	Women .	July	Men .	Women .	August	Men .	Women .	Total	Men .	Women

47

Survey of Dispositions of Probation Cases by Judges of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, for the Year ending December 31, 1943, as reported by the Criminal Department of Said Court.

Disposition of Drunkenness Cases.	
Probation, straight	152
tence	
Number who kept their probation	171
the State Farm	
Number who kept their probation	53
Number placed on probation with Reformatory for Women suspended sentence	
Suspended sentence	Ė
of their probation	-
Number who kept their probation	. 21
Number of persons placed on probation with suspended	
Number of these surrendered during the year	
	-

Thus it appears that of a total of 732 cases placed on probation, with suspended sentences, 292 kept their probation, 440 failed to do so. Of these:

47 out of 52 paid their fines.

Number who paid their fines .

21 out of 34, Reformatory for Women, suspended sentence, kept their probation.

171 out of 463, jail and House of Correction, suspended sentence, kept their probation.

53 out of 235, State Farm, suspended sentence, kept their probation.

26-2	7	MALE	1	BORN	NOV. 2	4.188	4	CHAR	T BY J	UDGE	J. T. ZO	TTOLI
YEAR												
1901												
1902									-			
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910												
1911												
1912					F			F				
1913					MR			•	MR			
1914					A		SF				F	
1915									#5	\$5	P	
1916				RFP							1	
1917		300 2M	SC 36				R		F W	3-14	H.C.	P
1918		\$5					FF		. 1 20		FF	
1919		I-M						-	F			
1920	PFF			P	RR	F	P	PF	SFSC F		PR	F
1921	FR		\$5 P	•		#8	R SF	F	R	FF	S.F.	
1922	R <sub>A</sub>	I-M	I-M	3M A			33	S.	F		R	
1923	T'A			RIO	E S	F.				#5	SE S	F.
1924	S.	F	RF	RET	-	. F.		#10 R		RET		F.
1925	FFF	7	Fp		S			-	ET. TO	S.F.	SF A	sc S.F.
1926	FFF	5	1			5. F.	F	-	S.	F		PF FA
1927	5.6.		H.C.	15	FSC SI	5	F	The Control of the Co	PAR- REV.			RPF
1928		-5	F	FX	SCE	P R SFS		₩sc3				
1929				FSFSC	2.M	H.C.	Ю				R	3 4
1930	SF <sub>5</sub> C F	s.c-\$	F	F	BET	To 5.	F	F		To 5	F,	
1931	S.F.F		M H						3 <u>M</u>	N I-M	RIO	0 3 24
1932	H, C		M N	Me Ma		SF A	SC SF	F F				SF
1933			RET	TO :	5. F.		SC SF E A	SE R	et To	5.F.		RASF
1934	SC	SFSC	2	14	ZM	N N						
1935			FR		SE SF S		S.F.		F	RET TO	S.F.	
1936	SE	RET	то 5			I-M	I-M		15	년 A	M 5 10	数第
1937	5F 55		F		RET	To S	-	BE	F	PET TO	5.E	
1938	S.F	H/S/H	6 5	MN	M 15	절면	I-M	SF N	SFDE	1/18	E444.	1/1103
1939	TEWK	SH	DIS. HM	N 2M	M 15	SFN	E,	M ZM SC	14 M	PAS	F SFSC	- I-M
1940	I-M	E 1	DIS. HM	20 5	Fst	5	F		RET	To S.		10
1941	11/14	WKS!	STATE	H05,	लिङ्ग	S.	15	20 SF	sc 2			15 %
1942	XIIIII	S			F	2T T	S.	F.		I-M		м
1943	15 I	N/SF/	TEX	KSB	14/4/	STATE	1403	BITAL	1/1/844	0/105	VEHY!	
1944	A	193//	1111111									
1344					L	ļ		-				1

#### PERSONAL CHART 26-Z.

#### Penological Record.

Male; born in 1884; lived under eleven different aliases in sixteen different places in the South and West Ends of Boston, Charlestown, Somerville, and in Connecticut. Admitted arrests in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont, which do not appear on this record.

Mars C 1010	Daniel	61		
May 6, 1912	Drunk	Somerville		O- 1211-
Aug. 12, 1912		14		On File
May 12, 1913		44		Mass. Ref. — App.
Sept. 27, 1913	70 1	**		Mass. Ref. — App.
May 13, 1914	Drunk			State Farm.
Nov. 24, 1914	W 1	So. Boston		
Sept. 18, 1915	Drunk	Charlestown		\$5.
Oct. 30, 1915		**		<b>\$</b> 5.
Nov. 15, 1915				Prob. 5–15–16 — Def.
Apr. 17, 1916		Central		RPO
Apr. 18, 1916	1.6	4.4		Filed
Apr. 27, 1916	4.4	4.4		Prob. 10-25-16 Dism.
Feb. 28, 1917	4.4	Charlestown		30 days Jail — App.
Feb. 28, 1917	Surr. dk	8-4		2 mos. Jail — App.
Mar. 5, 1917	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		Prob.
Mar. 8, 1917	4.4	Somerville	3/9	30 days H. C.
Apr. 12, 1917	4.4	Central		Prob. 10-10-17 Dism.
Apr. 8, 1917	4.5	Charlestown		30 days Jail
July 18, 1917	4.4	Cambridge		Filed
July 19, 1917	4.6	Central		RPO
Oct. 5, 1917	4.6	4.6		Filed
Oct. 5, 1917	Surr. dk	**		3 mos. HC ss. Prob. 4-3-18
Oct. 6, 1917	Drunk	4.6		Filed
Oct. 6, 1917	Surr. dk	4.6		3 mos. H. C.
Dec. 31, 1917	Drunk	**		Prob. 7–3–18
Feb. 21, 1918	Di diik	Chas.		\$5.
	44	Central	7/6	Filed
July 3, 1918 July 3, 1918	Surr. dk	Central	$\frac{7}{6}$	Filed
		44	1/0	Filed
Nov. 14, 1918	Drunk	4+		
Nov. 15, 1918	44	4.6		Filed
Feb. 3, 1919		**		1 mo HC
Oct. 28, 1919	14	41	/	Filed
Oct. 29, 1919	4.4	**	10/30	Filed
Jan. 7, 1920	46	**		Prob. 7-7-20
Jan. 10, 1920		**	1/13	Filed
Jan. 10, 1920	Surr. dk		1/13	Filed
Apr. 22, 1920	Drunk	44		Prob. 10-20-20
May 2, 1920	4.6	**		RPO
May 30, 1920	4.4	**		RPO
June 7, 1920	4.4	24		Filed
June 7, 1920	Surr. dk	**		5 days H. C.
July 1, 1920	Dk	4.6	7/2	Prob. 12-29-20
Aug. 2, 1920	Dk	4.4		Filed
Aug. 2, 1920	Surr. dk	4.4		Prob. 2-2-21
Sept. 10, 1920	Drunk	6.4		St. Farm — App.
Oct. 4, 1920	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		Filed
Nov. 24, 1920	Drunk	Somerville		Prob. 1-24-21 -11-2-21
Nov. 25, 1920	Drunk	Central		RPO
Dec. 24, 1920	Drunk	44		Filed
Jan. 21, 1921	Drunk	Somerville		Filed
Jan. 31, 1921	Drunk	Central		RPO
Mar. 28, 1921	Drunk	Somerville		\$5. ss. 4/12 Pd.
	Drunk	Somervine		
May 16, 1921		4.6		Prob. 7/11 11/2
June 20, 1921	Drunk			\$8. ss. 11-2

July 3, 1921	Drunk	Central		RPO
July 25, 1921	Drunk	Somerville		S. F. ss. Prob. 9/19 11/2
Aug. 10, 1921	Drunk	Central		Filed
Sept. 27, 1921	Drunk	Central		RPO
Oct. 4, 1921	Drunk	Somerville		Filed
Oct. 4, 1921	Surr. dk	44		On File
Oct. 4, 1921	Surr. dk	**		On File
Oct. 4, 1921	Surr. dk	+4		Com. State Farm.
Oct. 4, 1921	Surr. dk	4.6		On File
Jan. 18, 1922	Drunk	Central		RPO
Jan. 30, 1922	Drunk	11		1 month Jail
Feb. 28, 1922	Drunk	**		1 mo. H. C.
Jan. 28, 1922	Drunk	4.6		3 mos. Jail — App.
Nov. 4, 1922		Parole expires 4-2-32		o mos. van Tipp.
Nov. 3, 1922	Drunk	Central		RPO
Apr. 5, 1923	Drunk	··		RPO
Apr. 7, 1923	Drunk	**		10 days Jail
Apr. 18, 1923	Drunk	44 ,		S. F. ass. Prob. 10-17-23
Apr. 20, 1923	Drunk	44		Filed
Apr. 20, 1923	Surr. dk	**		State Farm
July 30, 1923		Parole expires 4/19/24		State Parm
Oct. 30, 1923	Drunk	Somerville		<b>\$</b> 5.
Nov. 5, 1923	Drunk	Somerville		St. Farm — App.
Nov. 7, 1923	Appeal w			Com. State Farm
Mar. 10, 1924	Drunk	Central		RPO
Mar. 18, 1924	Drunk	· · ·		Filed. Ret. to State Farm
Aug. 2, 1924		Expires 11-17-24		rned. Ret. to State Faim
Aug. 3, 1924	Drunk	Central		RPO
Aug. 22, 1924	Vio. Park			\$10.
Oct. 7, 1924	Drunk	. Itules		Filed. Ret. to State Farm
Jan. 7, 1925		Expires 1-22-25		rned. Ret. to State Farm
Jan. 12, 1925	Drunk	Central		Filed
Jan. 15, 1925	Drunk	Central		Filed
	Drunk	**		Filed
Jan. 23, 1925	Drunk	**		
Jan. 24, 1925		4.6		5 days Jail 1 mo. HC
Feb. 2, 1925	Drunk	14		Prob. 9-20-25
Mar. 23, 1925	Drunk	4.4		Filed
Mar. 24, 1925	Drunk	44		
Mar. 24, 1925	Surr.		4/9	15 days HC Filed
Apr. 8, 1925	Drunk	**	**/ 8	
Apr. 16, 1925	Drunk	* 4		St. Farm ss. 10–14 Filed
Apr. 21, 1925	Drunk	**		
Apr. 21, 1925	Surr. dk			State Farm RPO
May 9, 1925	Drunk	Central		
May 12, 1925	Drunk	**		10 days Jail
July 23, 1925	Drunk			Filed. Ret. to State Farm
Nov. 23, 1925		Expires 4-22-26		St. Farm — App.
Nov. 30, 1925	Drunk	Central		State Farm
Dec. 7, 1925	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		State raim
Apr. 22, 1926	Drunk	Expires 12-6-26 Central	4/24	Filed. Ret. to State Farm
Apr. 23, 1926		Central	4/44	Filed
July 27, 1926	Drunk	E-mines 1 10 97		rneu
Nov. 24, 1926		Expires 1–12–27 Somerville		<b>\$</b> 5.
Nov. 26, 1926	Drunk			Filed
Dec. 14, 1926	Drunk	Central		
Dec. 17, 1926	Drunk			1, week Jail
Dec. 20, 1926	Paroled.	Expires 12-24-26		Prob. 6-22-27
Dec. 21, 1926	Drunk	Central	12/24	Filed Filed
Dec. 22, 1926	Drunk	**	$\frac{12}{24}$	
Dec. 22, 1926	Surr. dk	44	12/24	Prob. 6-22-27
Dec. 31, 1926	Drunk			Filed
Dec. 31, 1926	Surr. dk			St. Farm — App.
Jan. 3, 1927	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		3 mos. HC
Apr. 4, 1927	Drunk	Central		15 days HC
Apr. 20, 1927	Drunk			St. Farm — App.
May 9, 1927	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		Filed

May 14, 1927	Drunk	Central	5/16	St. Farm — App.
May 19, 1927	App. withdrawn			St. Farm — Com.
Aug. 19, 1927	Paroled. Expires 5/	18/28		
Aug. 22, 1927	Drunk	Central		Filed
Aug. 22, 1927	Parole revoked			
Dec. 22, 1927	Paroled. Expires 5-	-2-28		
Dec. 23, 1927	Drunk	Central		RPO
Dec. 24, 1927	Drunk	6.6		Prob. 6-20-28
Dec. 27, 1927	Drunk	4.6		Filed
Dec. 27, 1927	Surr. dk	6.6		Filed
Dec. 27, 1927	Parole revoked			
May 14, 1928	Parole. Expires 5-2	6-28		
May 15, 1928	Drunk	Central	5/16	Filed.
May 19, 1928	Drunk	4.6	5/21	St. Farm — App.
June 4, 1928	Drunk	Suf. Sup		Filed
June 5, 1928	Drunk	Central		20 days C. J App.
June 25, 1928	Drunk	Cambridge		Rel.
June 26, 1928	Drunk	Central		St. Farm — App.
July 2, 1928	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		\$15. Com.
Aug. 1, 1928	Drunk	Central		S. F. — App.
Aug. 6, 1928	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		\$15. Com.
Apr. 8, 1929	Drunk	Central		Filed
Apr. 10, 1929	Drunk	Central		St. Farm — App.
May 6, 1929	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		2 mos. HC
July 5, 1929	Drunk	Central		10 days Com. Jail
Nov. 26, 1929	Drunk	4.4		RPO
Dec. 2, 1929	Drunk	6.6		3 days C. J.
Dec. 2, 1929	Drunk	6.6	12/9	St. Farm — App.
Jan. 15, 1930	Drunk	4.4		St. Farm — App.
Jan. 17, 1930	Drunk	Suf. Sup.		State Farm
Feb. 3, 1930	Drunk	44 44		Filed
Apr. 17, 1930	Paroled. Expires 1-	-1631		
Apr. 21, 1930	Drunk	Rox.		On File
Apr. 21, 1930	Parole revoked.			
Aug. 21, 1930	Paroled. Exp. 1-20	-31		
Aug. 30, 1930	Drunk	Central		On File
Aug. 30, 1930	Parole revoked			
Jan. 14, 1931	Paroled. Expires 1/	29/31		
Jan. 15, 1931	Drunk	Central		Filed
Jan. 16, 1931	44	6.6		State Farm — App.
Feb. 2, 1931	44	6.6		Filed
Feb. 6, 1931	4.4	4.1		2 mos. HC
Sept. 27, 1931	61	6.6		RPO
Sept. 30, 1931	4.6	6.6		3 mos. HC — App.
Oct. 5, 1931	44	Suf. Sup.		Nol Prossed
Oct. 7, 1931	44	Central		1 mo. HC
Nov. 2, 1931	Paroled. Expires 11	1-6-31		
Nov. 3, 1931	Drunk	Central		RPO
Nov. 4, 1931	4.4	4.6		10 days Jail
Nov. 14, 1931		4.6		10 days Jail
Nov. 24, 1931	64		11-25	10 days Jail
Dec. 5, 1931	63	4.5		3 days Jail
Dec. 9, 1931	4.6	4.6		2 mos. HC
Feb. 8, 1932	41	* *		On File
Feb. 9, 1932	4 6	* *		1 mo. Jail
Mar. 14, 1932	Vagrant	4.6		3 mos. HC — App.
Apr. 4, 1932	6.6	Suf. Sup.		Nol Prossed
Apr. 6, 1932	Drunk	Central		3 mos. HC — App.
July 6, 1932	5.4	6 6		St. Farm — App.
Aug. 1, 1932	6.6	Suf. Sup.		Filed
Aug. 5, 1932	4.6	Central		St. Farm — App.
Sept. 6, 1932	6.4	Suf. Sup.		Filed
Nov. 12, 1932	44	Central		10 days C. Jail
Nov. 22, 1932	44	44	11/25	S. F. as. Prob. 5-24-33
Nov. 26, 1932	**	4.5	11/28	Filed

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Nov. 26, 1932	Surr. dk Central	11/28 State Farm
Feb. 28, 1933	Paroled Expires 11-27-33	7717
Mar. 1, 1933	Drunk Central	Filed
Mar. 1, 1933	Parole revoked	•
July 1, 1933	Paroled. Expires 11-30-33	
Aug. 5, 1933	Drunk Central	4 mos. HC — App.
Aug. 8, 1933	our. oup.	Filed
Dec. 23, 1933	Paroled. Expires 1-7-34	770
Dec. 25, 1933	Drunk Central	RPO
Dec. 26, 1933	Drunk	State Farm — App.
Jan. 3, 1934	Drunk Suf. Sup.	1 mo. C. Jail
Feb. 6, 1934	Drunk Central	State Farm — App.
Mar. 5, 1934	Drunk Suf. Sup.	2 mos. HC
May 14, 1934	Drunk Central	2 mos. HC — App.
June 4, 1934	Drunk Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Mar. 22, 1935	Drunk Central	RPO
Mar. 25, 1935	Drunk "	Filed
Mar. 29, 1935	Drunk "	St. Farm — App.
Apr. 1, 1935	Drunk Suf. Sup.	Filed
Apr. 2, 1935	Drunk Central	St. Farm — App.
May 6, 1935	Drunk Suf. Sup	Filed
May 11, 1935	Drunk Central	St. Farm — App.
June 3, 1935	Drunk Suff. Sup.	State Farm
Sept. 3, 1935	Rel on parole. Expires 6-2-36	
Sept. 9, 1935	Drunk Central	Filed. Ret. to St. Farm
Jan. 9, 1936	Rel. on parole. Expires 6-8-36	
Jan. 20, 1936	Drunk Central	Filed. Ret. to St. Farm
May 29, 1936	Rel. on parole from St. Farm. Ex	
June 1, 1936	Drunk Central	1 mo. HC
July 8, 1936	Drunk	1 mo. HC
Sept. 12, 1936	Drunk "	15 days Jail
Sept. 28, 1936	Drunk Central	1 mo. HC — App.
Oct. 5, 1926	Drunk Suf. Sup.	2 weeks Jail
Oct. 20, 1936	Drunk Central	3 mos. HC — app.
Nov. 10, 1936	Drunk "	5 days Jail
Nov. 19, 1936	Drunk "	10 days Jail
Dec. 3, 1936	Drunk "	3 mos. HC — App.
Dec. 30, 1936	Drunk "	St. Farm — App.
Jan. 12, 1937	Drunk "	St Farm ss. Prob. 7-14-37
Jan. 13, 1937	Drunk "	Filed
Jan. 13, 1937	Surr. dk	State Farm

The following additional record is taken from Central Court record card:

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Apr. 3, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 5, 1939	Dk	Central	Prob. 10-4-39- 2 Mos HCSS
Apr. 6, 1939	Dk	Central	Filed
Apr. 6, 1939	Surr-Dk	Central	2 Mos HC
Jun. 12, 1939	Dk	Central	St. Farm App .
Jul. 5, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jul. 29, 1939	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Aug. 7, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 24, 1939	Dk	Central	2 Mos HC App
Sep. 7, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	2 Wks HC
Sep. 27, 1939	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Oct. 3, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Oct. 9, 1939	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Nov. 8, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Filed
Nov. 10, 1939	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Dec. 6, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	1 Month Jail
Jan. 5, 1940	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Feb. 5, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Filed
Feb. 19, 1940	Dk	Central	15 days CJ
Mar. 6, 1940	Dk	Central .	St. Farm App
Apr. 2, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup	20 days CJ
	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Apr. 22, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup	St. Farm
May 6, 1940			
Aug. 10, 1940		St. Farm to expire 5-9-	
Aug. 12, 1940	Dk	Central	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Dec. 12, 1940	Rel. on parole SF to		10.1 07
Dec. 13, 1940	Dk	Central	10 days CJ
May 21, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
May 27, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Jun. 2, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jun. 3, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Jul. 8, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jul. 9, 1941		Central	15 days HC
Jul. 30, 1941	Dk	Central	20 days CJ
Aug. 25, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Sep. 2, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	2 Mos HC
Nov. 4, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Dec. 2, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	15 days CJ
Dec. 23, 1941	Dk	Central	SF SS Prob. 6-24-42
Dec. 26, 1941	Dk	Central	Filed
Dec. 26, 1941	Surr. Dk	Central	State Farm.
Mar. 26, 1942	Rel. on parole SF to	expire 12-26-42.	
Mar. 27, 1942	Dk	Central	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Sep. 28, 1942	Rel. on parole SF to	expire 12-24-42	
Oct. 13, 1942	Dk	Central	1 Month HC
Nov. 21, 1942	Dk	Central	1 Month HC
Dec. 31, 1942	Dk	Central	15 days CJ
Jan. 28, 1943	Dk	Central	1 Month HC App
Feb. 1, 1943	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Feb. 8, 1943	Dk	Central	SF SS Prob. 8-11-43

Record complete to January 27, 1944.

# Hospitalization Record.

### Tewksbury State Hospital:

Aug. 24, 1937 to Sept. 13, 1937. Infected feet.

Feb. 2, 1938 to Mar. 14, 1938. No disease.
Sept. 22, 1938 to Apr. 4, 1939. Alcoholic psychosis.
July 7, 1939 to July 27, 1939. Alcoholic psychosis.
Jan. 2, 1941 to May 19, 1941. Alcoholic psychosis.
Feb. 9, 1943 to date. Alcoholic psychosis.

# Chapter XI.

THE "FINE SYSTEM" IN INEBRIETY CASES DISCUSSED.

Enough has been shown to prove that general statements to the effect that probation is ineffective in drunkenness cases are erroneous, and that such statements apply to the injudicious application of probation to cases unworthy of its extension. Let us pass on to the "fine" system.

Generalizations that "fines are unjust" and ineffective as preventives are also erroneous. Many students of the problems relating to drunkenness keep repeating that fines in drunkenness cases are useless as deterrents, cause unnecessary hardship on relatives and friends, expense to the Commonwealth, and that the prevailing use of fines for drunkenness would therefore stand condemned if there were no other count in the indictment than the manifold iniquities of the short sentence.

As the so-called alleged iniquities of the short sentence are to be reviewed at considerable length in the segment which follows the segment of the field under review, we will defer our comments on these until later.

It will be observed that much of the criticism relating to the imposition of fines for drunkenness applies to conditions which antedated the passage of the so-called "suspended sentence" law, which permitted suspension of the payment of the fine to a later date. This obviated some of the objections based on the fact that persons who were unable to pay the fine were required to serve a sentence of imprisonment. The "suspended sentence" gave the person fined an opportunity to pay his fine out of the proceeds of his own industry. Some writers fail to observe that this change has taken place, and still repeat what was stated respecting conditions that existed in bygone days. The general attitude of many of the investigators who have discussed the matter of fines is reflected by statements which are obviously of rather ancient origin. A few samples will suffice to illustrate the severity of such criticism and the generalities employed.

The following quotations will be helpful:

"A fine, if paid at all, is usually paid by relatives to save themselves and the person arrested from further disgrace. These in most instances can ill afford to pay it."

"The condemnation of the short sentence carries with it the condemnation of fines so far as they are responsible for short-term imprisonment; and the appalling fact has already been stated that imprisonment for non-payment of fines (and costs) accounts for 53 per cent of all persons confined for drunkenness in the penal institutions of Suffolk County in 1898, the proportion in other parts of the Commonwealth rising to above 70 per cent — the imposition of a fine was in a great majority of instances practically synonymous with a short sentence."

"The prevailing use of fines for drunkenness would therefore stand condemned if there were no other count in the indictment than the manifold iniquities of the short sentence already cited." (Report of the Advisory Committee on Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, appointed by the mayor, dated November 17, 1899, at p. 20.)

See also an article by Lewis D. Mason, M.D., reprinted from the Journal of Inebriety, October, 1904, entitled "The Relation of the Pauper Inebriate to the Municipality and the State from an Economic Point of View," at page 13, where the following appears:

We cannot condemn too severely the miserable method under which our police magistrates deal with our drunken population. We refer to to the law of fines and short-term imprisonment, a system that manufactures the "vagrant drunkard," the "jail bird" and itinerant drunkard, or, in the language of the police, "the rounder." No wonder our police courts have been aptly styled "schools of vice." In an address of the English "Howard Association," on the treatment and prevention of crime, they say that the system of repeated short sentences "is intolerable." "An eminent authority has recently remarked that magistrates who repeatedly pass demoralizing short sentences are themselves promotors of crime."

"The fine is frequently open to serious objection as a penalty for intoxication, for it is usually demanded of a prisoner at the very moment when he has no money left with which to pay." ("Drunkenness in Massachusetts, Conditions and Remedies," Special Report of the Board of Trustees of the Foxborough State Hospital, 1910, House, No. 1390.)

It is apparent that generalizations of this kind must not be taken too literally. It is true that fines will not prevent the addict from repeating his offense, but it does not follow from this fact alone that all fines imposed for the offence of drunkenness are unjust; nor does it follow that they usually come out of the family savings when properly imposed; or that they are ineffective as a preventive measure on the general population.

The latter observation we shall discuss later on. Nor is it true that fines are not paid when judicially imposed.

That the imposition of fines is not the best treatment in the "beginner class" is probably true. That such treatment will not stop the addict is also true. But it is not true that fines are not proper in the case of certain repeaters who have not yet reached the "addiction stage." Every experienced judge knows that there are rather large groups of single persons who are hard workers while employed, but who become "play boys" while out of employment or "on leave." Certain seafaring men and woodsmen and other "sex starved" individuals are notorious by their actions when "off duty." When on duty they are often talking about "the girl they left behind them" or the "one they are going to meet." They save "their roll" when they are where they cannot spend it, and "blow it all" when in search of "sex satisfaction." Quite often they are found in the company of persons who are not exactly angels, but who would relieve them of even the gold in their teeth, if given the chance. These rovers rarely save any money. Marriage with them is usually a byword. Drunkenness in their case is an incident of the hunt. Quite often "the hunt" ends rather disastrously for them. This is especially so when they come in contact with a class of leeches on society who are on the lookout for just such persons, and who "hang on" to them until they are "broke again."

But quite often these "easy marks" are spotted by special police, whose duty it is to rescue them from the fate which surely otherwise awaits them. They are taken into "protective custody," perchance while "the roll" is still intact, or partly is. Experience teaches that if these persons are released before they are thoroughly sobered and "cooled off" a bit, they usually land where it was their first intention to go, and with similar resulting effects. Because of these considerations, instead of being released they usually are held for court, where they get a "sobering off continuance" after which they are given back "their roll," less the fine imposed, and returned to their ship as it is about to leave port, or put on board a train and headed for the woods again, as the case may be.

In the meanwhile the excursion has cost the taxpayer about \$10 for the arrest; about another \$13 for the detention costs; and another \$10 for his share of the "overhead" of the court and probation department, making in all about \$33. The maximum fine that the court can impose is \$15, which, perchance, was adequate when that law was passed, but now, obviously, "behind the times."

What injustice, under these circumstances, is done to this sort of person if the maximum fine of \$15 is taken from "his roll" before he is started back on his way to a safe haven? If the police had not rescued him on time the chances are he would have spent it all on "wine, women and song." A fine cannot hurt "dependents" in these cases, for these drunks usually have none that are legitimate. Indeed, a fine may in some cases help to keep him sober. However that may be, it does help the decent taxpayer to carry a load which is already hard enough to bear. These are only illustrations of a principle of the criminal law. which calls for the making of "restitution" by offenders for the unlawful harm they have done. These considerations also apply to the "spree drinkers" and "sports," who are unmarried, have no one to support, and are often found "bouncing around town," misspending their time and money, and living only for the day, but who, on "the morrow," largely make up that class that society calls "the rounder." He too will probably spend most of what he earns on drink. Why should he not be made to make at least partial restitution for what he obtains from the decent producer who perchance is trying hard to raise a family under proper surroundings?

It is true, fines will not "cure" or salvage the addict. Nor are they good preventives. But they do help, in proper cases, to restore to society what has been improperly taken from it. There is no sound reason why this restitution should not be made. The law permitting the suspension of payment, where the fine was not in hand, was passed to facilitate this restitution. There is no sound reason for eliminating the fine in drunkenness cases. If anything, it should be enlarged to meet the scale of present costs.

# Chapter XII.

Discussion of Short Sentences and Recidivism in Drunkenness, and Percentage of Intemperance Among Criminals.

A member of our judiciary once stated that only in rare cases should a person charged with drunkenness be committed for a longer period than was necessary to sober him from the immediate effects of his drunken debauch. If the treatment accorded "drunk cases" on "appeal" by some district attorneys is administered in good faith rather than for political reasons, it would appear that they too approve of short sentences, excepting in rare cases, perchance, where the accused is not a voter in their district. We will discuss this phase later, in connection with our findings relating to the exercise of the power of nol-pros.

Opposed to these views is a large body of authority, both at home and abroad, which in good faith asserts that short sentences in drunkenness cases are not only ineffective but also productive of great harm.

Both of these views cannot be right, as they are diametrically opposed to each other and cannot be reconciled. The implications of the observations and assertions made by such a large body of authority demands that the subject be given careful scrutiny. It will serve a useful purpose to set out what these authorities have said, and the sources from which the information is derived.

The following quotations made by authorities of high standing in their time are worthy of careful consideration. A word of warning here may not be amiss. These excerpts are taken from articles of considerable length. Some of the quotations are qualified by the remaining portions of the article from which they are taken. A clearer view of the intent of the excerpt can only be had if the whole of the article is read. However, these excerpts do illustrate what the concensus of opinion is as to the efficacy of the "short sentence" in the prevention or reformation of the drunkard.

Their implications are clear. We will consider them later. First, let us present what has been stated about the short sentence

by people both at home and abroad "in days of yore" and at the present time. We quote them indiscriminately, for your perusal.

Report No. 108, State Charities Association of New York, March 20, 1909, at page 8: "A short sentence accomplishes nothing, either in reforming the individual or in protecting society."

"An ordinarily self-respecting citizen who becomes intoxicated loses not only his self-respect but frequently his employment by being publicly exposed and brought before the court and perhaps sentenced to prison to associate with the most vicious type of criminal cases."

"The 'rounder' in hospitals, police stations, the courts, the prisons and workhouses is an inevitable consequence of short-term commitments and petty fines."

"The cases that properly come before the courts should not come repeatedly.

"The short sentence and the petty fine have been tried thoroughly in this country and abroad, and everywhere have been found wanting."

The report of the first Select Committee on Habitual Drunkards, appointed by the English Parliament in 1872, stated that "Small fines and short imprisonment are proved to be useless." It has been reaffirmed by two subsequent committees of Parliament, one in 1898 and another in 1908.

A report of the Special Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, appointed by the mayor of Boston in 1899, gave several pages of argument as to the "worthlessness of the short sentence," citing the distinguished Italian criminologist to the same effect. (Criminal Sociology, p. 269; see report of the mayor's Advisory Committee on Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, dated October 12, 1899, pages 15 to 19, inclusive, where the subject is explored.)

Dr. Irwin H. Neff, Superintendent of Foxborough State Hospital, Foxborough, Mass., in December, 1910, in the "New England Medical Monthly," at page 442, in part said: "It is the experience of the State of Massachusetts that the repeated short criminal sentence for drunkenness to its penal institutions is admittedly futile so far as its reformatory effect is concerned, is an expense to the Commonwealth, and is simply an example of the penalty which fails to fit the crime."

In his article entitled "Inebriety in Boston," Maurice Parmelee,

in 1909, points out, at page 60: "The use of short sentences—for the treatment of misdemeanants—has been condemned over and over again by modern criminologists. . . . It is not likely that a brief term of imprisonment without any special treatment will result in keeping a drunkard away from drink after he is freed."

"Experience has proved how unavailing fine and imprisonment are to effect any reformation in the habits of the confirmed drunkard. No prison system yet devised has effected any improvement in the drunkard committed for the usual seven days' or fourteen days' imprisonment."

A paper by J. S. Gibbons, chairman, General Prisons Board of Ireland, read at International Penitentiary Congress, held at Buda-Pesth, September, 1905, states: "Experience has shown that very little can be effected in short periods of detention, such as one year or eighteen months." The paper then goes on to describe the system involved in the Inebriates Act of 1898. In substance, it was modeled upon the Massachusetts system, then in vogue at the State Farm and Foxborough. A copy of the Inebriates Act of 1898 is appended to Gibbons' article above referred to.

"We cannot condemn too severely the miserable method under which our police magistrates deal with our drunken population. We refer to the law of fines and short-term imprisonment, a system that manufactures the 'vagrant drunkard,' 'the jail bird,' the itinerant drunkard, or, in the language of the police, the 'rounder.' No wonder our police courts have been aptly styled 'schools of vice.' An eminent authority has recently remarked that magistrates who repeatedly pass demoralizing short sentences are themselves promoters of crime." (Lewis D. Mason, M.D., reprinted from the Journal of Inebriety, October, 1904.)

"It is clear that the short sentence (for drunkenness) cannot work the needed reformation. The short sentence puts the community to a large, and, as we have shown, often worse than useless, expense." (Report of Advisory Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, pp. 15–19, Boston, November 17, 1899.)

"The consensus of expert opinion is, then, in favor of 'long-term commitments.'" The accumulative sentence, with the judicious use of the probation and parole — all of which is diametrically opposed to the present system of short commitments and fines, "which are neither punitive, deterrent or reformatory,

but rather the reverse,—as has been said, promotes intemperance, pauperism and crime, as well as more then doubling the 'municipal' expense in the care of the pauper inebriate." (Lewis D. Mason, M.D., "The Relation of the Pauper Inebriate to the Municipality and the State from an Economic Point of View," p. 19 (1904); cf. Report of Board of Trustees of Foxborough State Hospital, House, No. 1390, pp. 32, 33.)

"The law assumes the correctness of the theological theory of inebriety, which affirms it to be a vice, and one phase of a wicked and vicious heart. The remedy, of course, is punishment by fine and imprisonment, the practical result of which is to produce the very effects sought to be removed. It is the universal experience of judges and prison authorities that the punishment (by fine and imprisonment) of inebriates never cures or prevents drinking, but, on the contrary, weakens and enfeebles the victim, rendering him less curable. Very much in the same way the punishment of insanity and witchcraft always made its victims worse." (Thomas D. Crothers, M.D., "The Disease of Inebriety and its Social Science Relations," p. 10 (1883).)

"The increasing commitments of inebriates under the license law show that the criminal law which seeks by punishment to check these cases utterly fails, and actually precipitates them into more incurable states." "This is particularly true of inebriates and crime associated with it. Thus the law becomes an active agent with the saloon keeper in destroying these poor victims and making recovery more and more impossible with every commitment." (Thomas D. Crothers, M.D., "Hallucinations in Inebriety," p. 6 (1886).)

"Having offended and been punished seems not to be a deterrent to repetition. This is evidence both of the tenacity of the habit and of mental deterioration, in that there is a loss of the sense of shame and self-respect." (J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," p. 162 (1938).)

"Imprisonment for drunkenness too often fails as a correctional measure. Prison may be desirable for certain types of drunkards, but many men whose real needs are medicine, pure food and air, advice, encouragement, education for mind and will, are injured by imprisonment." ("Drunkenness in Massachusetts, Conditions and Remedies," Special Report of the Board of Trustees of the Foxborough State Hospital (1910), House, No. 1390, pp. 14, 15, 16, 17.)

At page 17 it appears that the type illustrated above ("rounder"), "although not created by the practice of imprison-

ment for non-payment and by short sentences, has been fostered by it."

Austin H. MacCormick, Sc.D., executive director of the Osborne Associates, in an excellent article entitled "Penal and Correctional Aspects of the Alcohol Problem," published (September, 1941) in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. II, 241, concludes in the following manner: "The sum total of significant accomplishment by penal and correctional institutions in the treatment of male alcoholics, with the few exceptions above noted, must be placed almost at absolute zero."

Dr. Frank J. Curran, senior psychiatrist, Bellevue Hospital, New York: "Chronic drunks should be given a 'definite work program' at farm colonies." (Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. IV, 79–84.)

"A study of our methods of punishing inebriety in general leads to the conclusion that it is quite futile. Under our system the same person may be recommitted from forty to fifty times to the same institution for being intoxicated. Obviously, the ends of justice cannot be met by the imposition of so ineffectual a punishment that the person returns fifty times in succession to undergo the same repeated sentence." (House, No. 2450, Message by Governor Eugene N. Foss to the Legislature of Massachusetts, May 9, 1913.)

"In brief, it seems quite reasonable to state that the method of short sentences on the charge of drunkenness accomplishes extremely little, except to give the prisoner an opportunity to recover from the acute effects of alcoholism; there is nothing curative in a very considerable number of the cases. On the other hand, it is fairly certain that many of the persons arrested for drunkenness would not profit by commitment to an institution for inebriates." (House, No. 167 (Massachusetts), Report of the Special Commission on the Advisability of Establishing Public Clinics, etc., for Treatment of Persons of Confirmed Habits of Intoxication, p. 10 (1936); also see Report of the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, House, No. 2053, p. 16 (January, 1914).) "Imprisonment of a week or more will sober the prisoner but will not usually reform him of his habit."

"The opinion has been current for many years among officials who have jurisdiction over drunkards in hospitals, courts and prisons that the existing penal system for inebriates in Massachusetts is inadequate and often self-defeating." (Special Report of Trustees of Foxborough, "Drunkenness in Massachusetts," House, No. 1390, p. 13 (1910).)

The observations of the Trustees as to conditions at Deer Island in 1909 apply with equal force at the present time: "It has been a haven where a few thousand drunkards can comfortably recover from their debauchery at public expense, only to return to drink on dismissal. The harm resulting from this practice is now a matter of public discussion."

Many more authors could be cited having similar thoughts with reference to the short sentence. The above is a fair sample of what is thought about the efficacy of the short sentence in the prevention or reformation of the intemperate user of alcoholic beverages.

A fair question is, Are all these authorities right or wrong in their appraisal of the value of the short sentence? We believe they are right if what they say is intended to refer to the short sentence as used in the penological system we are now operating. The plain implication is that, under the present penological system, the person inclined to be intemperate is not diverted from his course of immoderate drinking early enough to be "shocked" or "cured" by any treatment that science now knows, which of necessity, includes not only the "short sentence" but also the "long one" and every other treatment now known. When an "irreversible condition" is reached there cannot be "cure" in the true sense of the word. All that penology and medicine can do at this stage is to salvage, as far as is possible, what remains of the individual, which too often does not amount to very much. By "short sentencing," society may be able to utilize for the period between his sprees what is left of the individual. On the other hand, society by so doing also assumes the risks that are related to an unstable personality. A careful and experienced judge will weigh these risks and sentence accordingly. In doing so the dangers attending too lenient treatment should constantly be kept in mind. These dangers clearly appear from the hundreds of personal charts of inebriates by Judge Zottoli, typical examples of which are appended to this report. These charts demonstrate how, under our present system, the "temperate drinker" degenerates into the intemperate one, and he into the "addict," the "rounder" and the "psychotic," thus becoming a public charge for most of what should be the useful period of his life, largely because our system of prevention does not begin to operate until it is too late to be effective.

It will be noted that many of the authors above referred to base their conclusion as to the ineffectiveness of the short sentence upon the evidence relating to the recidivism of inebriates. Any one studying the annual reports of our department of correction cannot fail to observe that their conclusions are well grounded.

The following spot checks for the years 1909, 1910, 1914, 1915, 1939 and 1940, amply illustrate the extent of this recidivism in Massachusetts. Experience teaches that the situation is no different at the present time. The tables are from the Annual Reports of the Department of Correction.

Age of Persons committed for Drunkenness to All Penal Institutions, Year ending September 30, 1909.

CHON. AGGREGATE.	Total.   Male.   Female.   Total.	2 2	11 14 1 15	47 54	73 79 2 81	96 115	1,475 1,482 134 1,616	2,275 2,278 274 2,552	6,529 6,605 823 7,428	5,440 5,805 515 6,320	2,434 2,695 183 2,878	655 761 41 802	103 121 5 126	2 4 1	19,142 20,004 1,990 21,994
JAILS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION	Male. Female.	61	10 1	44	7.3	93 3	1,368 107	2,051 224	5,827 702	4,999 441	2,288 146	625 30	100 3	-	17,481 1,661
	Total. M	(	y-ref	41.	1-	55	101	251	857	440	146	22	ı	ಣ	2,706
STATE FARM.	Female.	1	1	t .	-	I	00	34	0C 0C	69	88	10	1	ı	234
	Male.	1	-	7	9	6	93	217	692	908	407	136	21	ග	2,472
REFORMA- TORY FOR WOMEN.	Female.		ı	57	Best	99	19	16	33	15	44		Bred	1	92
Massa- chusetts Reforma- tory.	Male.	1	20	1	:	1-0	21	10	5	1	ı	1	ı	ı	51
AOES (YEARS).															
Αq		16	. 71		. 61	20 ,	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61 to 70	Above 70	Unknown	Total

Age of Persons committed for Drunkenness to All Penal Institutions, Vear ending September 30, 1910.

1	Total.	. 51	12	40	29	129	1,459	2,393	7,267	6,411	3,057	921	126	10	21,889
AGGREGATE.	Female.		1	-	20	00	28	252	793	109	176	14.7	20	ಞ	1,974
1	Male.	63	12	39	64	121	1,372	2,141	6,474	5,810	2,881	874	123	2	19,915
CTION.	Total.	23	10	35	69	118	1,327	2,096	6,309	5,434	2,543	718	26	1	18,749
JAILS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION.	Female.	1	1	-	21	5	29	202	633	474	138		23	I	1,557
Horse	Male.	21	10	34	22	113	1,260	1,894	5,676	4,961	2,405	685	95	1	17,192
	Total.	1	-	21	चं	-41	101	262	920	961	208	201	38	2	2,997
STATE FARM.	Female.		1	1	2	1	9	29	125	113	35	123	1	ಣ	319
<i>J</i> 2	Male.	1		21	7	4	96	233	795	848	476 .	189	800	¢1	2,678
REFORMA- TORY FOR WOMEN.	Female.	1	1	1		ಞ	15	21	35	±	9	51	_	ı	98
Massa- chusetts Reforma- tory.	Male.	1	-	:0	20	**	16	71	ಣ	gand	1	ſ	ı	ı	45
								•			•				
.(\$				٠		,	,							·	
Ages (Years).															
GES (													,		
ν.		. 91	. 21	. 81	. 61	. 02	21 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 40	41 to 50	51 to 60	61 to 70	Above 70	Unknown	Total

Recidivism — Drunkenness, 1914.

NUMBER OF TIMES PREVIOUSLY COMMITTED.	MASSA- CHUSETTS REFORMA- TORY.	REFORMA- TORY FOR WOMEN.	0	State Farm.		House	JAILS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION.	CTION.	,	AGGREGATE.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
	ಣ	12	249	43	292	1,070	89	1,138	1,322	123	1,445
	4	9	221	45	266	1,359	102	1,461	1,584	153	1,737
	-	89	160	32	192	945	100	1,045	1,106	135	1,241
	63	1	144	17	161	748	81	829	894	66	993
	1	က	106	17	123	494	61	555	009	81	189
	ţ	65	446	74	520	2,479	275	2,754	2,925	352	3,277
	3	ı	74	645	22	832	83	915	906	98	992
	ì	1	1	ı	-	221	6	240	232	6	241
More than 50	1	t	1,	1	1	35	4	41	37	4	4.1
Number of former commitments	10	28	1,401	231	1,632	8,195	783	8,978	909'6	1,042	10,648
Number of first commitments .	4	23	806	128	993	3,341	251	3,592	4,151	402	4,553
Whole number of commitments for all offences.	14	51	2,207	359	2,566	11,536	1,034	12,570	13,757	1,444	15,201

Recidivism — Drunkenness, 1915.

REFORMATOR WOMEN. Women. Female. R 945	Ş							
	STATE FARM.		Horse	JAILS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION.	crion.		Aggregate.	
	Femule.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
_	52	262	1,596	191	1,757	1,848	219	2,067
8 183	24	230	1,035	103	1,138	1,224	158	1,382
4 162	39	201	805	81	988	970	124	1,094
1 120	0+	160	656	7.1	727	022	112	888
1 101	21	122	479	57	536	581	62	099
4 488	101	589	2,467	294	2,761	2,958	399	3,357
3 86	4.	06	892	77	696	826	30	1,062
- 2	1	53	201	12	213	204	12	216
1	1	1	29	-	30	29		30
1,387	304	1,691	8,160	857	9,017	9,569	1,118	10,757
17 787	127	914	3,362	303	3,366	4,162	448	4,610
44 2,174	431	2,605	11,522	1,161	12,683	13,731	1,636	15,367

Recidivism — Drunkenness, 1939.

	NUMBER OF		TIMES PREVIOUSLY COMMITTED.	PRE	VIOUS	SLY (	COMM	ITTE			MASSA- CHUSETTS REFORMA- TORY.	REFORMA- TORY FOR WOMEN.		State Farm.		House	JAILS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION.	crion.	
											Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.	
											124	53	159	1	160	2,438	144	2,582	
2											92	90	173	-	174	1,436	163	1,599	
3 .											30	21	139	1	140	1,012	111	1,129	
4				٠							7	11	124	2	126	771	61	832	
, r.c.											70	9	126	1	127	511	39	550	
6 to 15 .											ಣ	33	625	1	625	2,209	300	2,247	
16 to 30 .			,								co	4	145	1	145	501	11	512	
31 to 50 .											1	*	29	×	20	116	-	117	
51 to 100 .							,				1	1	in.	1	10	151	5.	20	
Number of former commitments	rmer co	mumi	trnent								248	150	1,525	9	1,531	600'6	579	9,588	
Number of first commitments	rst com	mitm	ents			-					109	163	131		132	4,467	138	4,605	
Whole number of commitments	er of con	nmitr	nents							•	357	313	1,656	7	1,663	13,476	717	14,193	
									-	-									

1 The men in the 51 to 100 group includes 1 with 100 former commitments.

Recidivism — Drunkenness, 1940.

			Num	BER	of T	IMES	3		REFORMA-		STATE FARM	
		PR	EVIO	USLY	Сом	MITT	ED.		TORY FOR WOMEN.	Male.	Female.	Total.
1									48	161	-	161
2									29	156	-	156
3									7	166	1	167
4									8	140	1	141
5	:		٠	e					8	124	-	124
6 t	to 15	٠							28	715	-	715
6 1	to 30							٠	3	172	-	172
1 t	to 50								3	19	-	19
1 t	to 100		٠						- '	3	-	3
Nu	mber	of f	orme	r con	amitı	nent	8.		134	1,656	2	1,658
νu	ımber	of f	irst c	omm	itme	nts			135	106	-	106
Vh	ole n	umb	er of	com	mitm	ents			269	1,762	2	1,764

Additional evidence bearing on the question under review is the percentage of "intemperates" confined in our state and county prisons to which inebriates and others committing offences usually related to inebriety are committed.

The following table from the annual reports of our Department of Correction shows that only 4.72 per cent of the total population of all these prisons were of "temperate habit" in the use of alcoholic beverages. The survey covered only the years 1902 to 1913, inclusive, because later reports do not show what the habits of prisoners for sobriety were in later years. But whereas it is probably true that human nature reacts rather uniformly to similar motivating activity, and as under the license system we are now operating conditions are but little different than they were in the 1902–1913 period, when similar laws were in operation, we probably would find that conditions are now similar to those in the period surveyed.

Number of Intemperate and Temperate Persons committed to State and County Prisons, 1902-1913, inclusive.

-	E 7 C			Total	STATE PRISON.	RISON.	Massachusetts Reformatory.	HUSETTS IATORY.	REFOR V	REFORMATORY FOR WOMEN.	STATE	STATE FARM.	JAIL AN	JAIL AND HOUSE OF CORRECTION.	Tc	Total.
	o di la constanti di la consta			L OUGIS.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.	Intem- perate.	Tem- perate.
				25,526	85	112	132	347	196	35	1,443	1	22,493	734	24,339	1,187
				27,343	28	92	146	411	168	46	1,574	ı	24,356	473	26,322	1,022
1001	9	4		29,691	83	114	448	142	142	7.9	1,978	2	26,090	599	28,449	1,242
	٠	٠	0	28,544	161	14	39	192	192	22	2,367	1	24,610	628	27,357	1,187
906		٠	9	26,897	61	87	402	111	111	81	2,709	1	22,693	602	25,725	1,172
	4			27,718	19	69	402	110	110	36	2,630	1	23,675	563	26,628	1,090
806				32,077	85	901	549	149	149	113	3,210	ı	26,595	1,028	30,281	1,796
606				32,228	18	117	468	202	202	130	3,295	1	26,718	966	30,517	1,711
0161	٠			31,081	71	127	462	172	172	105	3,504	1	25,883	299	29,750	1,331
1161		٠		29,657	80	115	420	157	157	101	3,940	ţ	24,080	899	28,353	1,304
1912	٠	0		27,454	73	126	281	117	117	06	3,404	ı	22,703	202	26,369	1,085
1913		٠		26,161	7.1	101	376	94	94	112	3,564	1	21,224	542	25,030	1,131
Totals .			•	344,378	1,006	1,139	2,069	4,595	1,810	950	33,618	2	291,120	8,087	329,120	15,278

# Percentage of Intemperate and Temperate Persons for Each Prison, 1902–1913.

		Intemperate.	Tem- perate.	Total.	Per Cent Intem- perate.	Per Cen Tem- perate.
State Prison	- 1	1,006	1,139	2,145	46.9	53.1
Massachusetts Reformatory .		2,069	4,595	6,664	31.04	68.96
Reformatory for Women		1,810	950	2,760	65.58	34.42
State Farm		33,618	2	33,620	99.9984	.0016
Jails and houses of correction .		291,120	8,087	299,207	97.3	2.7

Over the twelve-year period 1902-1913, inclusive, in all state and county prisons, 4.72 per cent were of temperate habits as to the use of intoxicating liquors, while 95.28 per cent were intemperate.

# Chapter XIII.

Long Sentences in Drunkenness Cases discussed.

What has been said about the short sentence applies with equal force to the long sentence. Numerous authors state that "long periods of custodial care and work therapy are essential for the addict and the rounder." Some mistakenly state that the reason for the necessity of imposing long sentences is that it requires long periods of time to "cure" the patient. This was the underlying thought that led to the passage of legislation establishing the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates in 1888, in our Commonwealth. It was then almost universally assumed by psychatrists that "chronics" could be cured if treated long enough, "just as other diseases were cured." This theory was later proved fallacious. Other authorities felt that such an addict "should be required to work for his support." Still others posited their opinion on the theory that such a person was "a financial drain and often a source of danger, or both."

The following quotations will suffice to show the prevailing thought on the necessity for "long sentences" in cases concerning "addicts" and "rounders."

"Long period of custodial care and work therapy is essential for the addict and 'rounder'." (See Report No. 108, State Charities and Association of New York, March 20, 1909, at pp. 36 and 37, entitled "Treatment of Public Intoxication and Inebricty.") "The habitual drunkard is a menace to society, a burden to his family, and an economic loss to the community." (*Ibid.*, p. 6.)

"A large percentage of the cost of the police force, of the magistrate courts, of the city prisons and workhouse, and of municipal hospitals is due to the 'rounder.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 8.)

"The 'rounder' is the product of the present method. Let no one misunderstand this pitiable wretch. The 'rounder,' physically and morally debauched, is the product of the existing system." (Report of the Advisory Committee on the Penal Aspects of Drunkenness, appointed by the mayor of Boston, dated November 17, 1899, at pp. 34–36, inclusive.)

In an article by Lewis D. Mason, M.D., entitled "The Relation of the Pauper Inebriate to the Municipality and the State from an Economic Point of View," at page 19, we find this: "The

consensus of expert opinion is, then, in favor of 'long-term commitments.' The accumulative sentence, with the judicious use of the probation method and the parole, — all of which is diametrically opposed to the present system of short commitments and fines, which are neither punitive, deterrent or reformatory, but rather the reverse, — as has been said, promotes intemperance, pauperism and crime, as well as more than doubling the municipal expense in the care of the pauper inebriate."

Dr. Irwin H. Neff, superintendent, Foxborough State Hospital, Foxborough, Mass., in December of 1910, in an article entitled "State Care for the Inebriate," published in the New England Medical Monthly, Vol. 29, page 441, at page 442 said: "The man who has shown himself by his long habit of drinking to be a financial drain and often a source of danger both to his family and the community should be detained in some colony, where he may be required to work for his support."

Maurice Farr Parmelee, in 1909, in a study of "Inebriety in Boston," submitted a report in which he concurred in the report of the mayor's Advisory Committee herein elsewhere referred to, and concluded that if the inebriate "proved to be incurable, he would 'as a rule' have to be detained more or less permanently in a farm colony or similar institution." (Maurice Farr Parmelee, "Inebriety in Boston" (1909), at p. 64.)

Charles B. Towne, in "Habits that Handicap," at page 99, points out that a man taken to court for drunkenness should with great care be properly classified. It should be determined whether he is an habitual drunkard, an occasional drunkard, or an accidental drunkard. There may be hope for the occasional drunkard, there is invariably hope for the accidental drunkard—neither (when arrested) should be sent back to his liberty without some recognition of the fact that he has been drunk and irresponsible; but "punishment fails utterly to reform the alcoholic."

"Nor is colonization more effective except for the hopeless cases. Colonization of the hopeless is advisable only because such men, before they have decended to that stage, have cost their friends and society all that it is advisable to spend on them. Many of this class (repeaters and rounders) could doubtless have been deflected from habits of inebriety earlier in life if properly treated. Today they are beyond cure, but neither they nor the general public can profit by the 'in and out' treatment to which they are now subject. Permanent institutional care is clearly needed." (Report of the Commission to Investigate Drunken-

ness in Massachusetts, House, No. 2053, pp. 16-17 (January, 1914).)

There are other more serious considerations underlying what has been stated concerning the necessity of long-term imprisonment for the "incurable addict" and "rounder." One is based on principles of economy, another has humanitarian aspects. As to the first, it will be found that our State Farm comes nearest to being the ideal place for the building-up process of the health of the inebriate. Here he may enjoy fresh air, good food, proper clothing and shelter, outdoor exercise on a farm suited to his condition, religious therapy, reasonable entertainment, medicine and hospital treatment when needed. All at a per capita cost of about \$5 per week. All that is lacking, perchance, is psychotherapy and sex-satisfaction. All this does not aid the chronic drunk of whom we are speaking, because he is alleged to have reached a stage that is not curable. In addition to the State Farm there is a choice of committal to the jails, houses of correction and the reformatories. The weekly per capita cost for imprisonment in the jails and houses of correction of our Commonwealth averages about \$13. The facilities for convalescence are no better, and in most cases not so good, as at the State Farm; the work therapies in our jails and houses of correction usually are far inferior to that of the State Farm. As to the reformatories, all penologists in our Commonwealth are in agreement that the Massachusetts Reformatory is not a proper institution for the committal of inebriates. The Reformatory for Women now receives all of the female inebriates, where they are splendidly handled.

Under these circumstances it would seem that sound economic reasons should impel committal of male inebriates to the State Farm. But the fact is that most chronics are given short sentences to jails and houses of correction. The result of this treatment is tragic. The chronic cannot stop his drinking alcohol. When at large he will beg, borrow or steal to obtain it. The result of all this is that he is continually adding to his degeneration when at large, until he finally ends his career by way of the hospital, the infirmary, the mental institution or untimely death. The personal records and charts of chronic drunks, some of which are made a part of this report, clearly show the course chronic drunks follow to an untimely end. Furthermore, the records show that those who are thus institutionalized cost the public anywhere from \$8 to \$20 per week, depending upon their condition and the institution they are confined in. This is no fault of

the state institutions. We find they are well handled and supervised. The fault largely lies at the door of the unreasonable use of the nol-pros on the part of certain district attorneys who are either sadly mistaken, or are playing politics at the expense of the public welfare. Surveys have shown that conditions relating to the disposition of drunkenness cases, on appeal, are nothing short of scandalous. It clearly appears that the efforts at salvaging drunkards being made by many experienced judges in Suffolk County are being nullified by the injudicious use of the power of nol-pros.

# Chapter XIV.

Nolle Prosequi, in Inebriety Cases, discussed.

The power of "nol-pros" is being abused. That judges should salvage all the human wreckage possible is too plain for argument. That they should do so, utilizing all the means provided by law, is also clear. Hence the reason for the release and probation machinery invoked in the early stages of inebriety. Before a defendant receives a State Farm sentence every other means at the disposal of the court should be tried in an attempt to salvage him for society. In the great majority of cases it does not become necessary for the court to do more than impose a short sentence in jail or house of correction in order to sober the defendant. A court worthy of that name knows that long terms of imprisonment may harm the prisoner and also cost the taxpayers money, and that they should only be imposed in clear cases demanding that treatment. Probation with a suspended sentence is always preferable to imprisonment if the defendant can be turned from his downward course to destruction by that method. Judges, as a rule, also know that they must not act too hastily, and should be sure they understand the person, his condition and the objective to be desired by the sentence to be imposed.

All authorities agree that the jail and house of correction is the place to send short-term men, for sobering up purposes. They also agree that the State Farm is the proper place for common drunkards of the "rounder" class. Experienced judges for many years past have followed this plan of action, and experienced judges now do so throughout the Commonwealth. So, too, do most of the district attorneys outside of Suffolk County.

A survey in Suffolk County shows that the treatment of appealed cases is not consistent with that by the officials of most of the other counties of our Commonwealth; nor with that of the district attorneys who held office prior to the present incumbent.

The practice of "nol-prossing" cases of common drunkards in Suffolk County is so widespread that few chronic drunkards reach the State Farm on appeal. This has given rise to the use of "probation with a suspended sentence to the State Farm," as a stratagem for obtaining by indirection what cannot be directly obtained because of the exercise of the power of nol-pros. For more than ten years the "nol-pros" in Suffolk County has been applied to practically all drunkenness appealed cases. In certain cases a defendant has been presented to court with a recommendation that the case be "filed." These recommendations have usually been honored, thus giving a show of respectability to indiscriminate "nol-prossing."

The extent of this nol-prossing is shown by three surveys of what happened to drunkenness cases appealed from the Municipal Court of the City of Boston. The first survey covers the period of the months of September, 1933, to February, 1934, inclusive, and shows the disposition of appealed State Farm and house of correction sentences imposed by the judges of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston. There were in all 234 State Farm sentences and 28 house of correction sentences appealed in the period above stated. Of the 234 State Farm sentences appealed, 190 were nol-prossed, 28 were filed by some justice sitting in the Superior Court, 7 were fined, 7 had their sentences reduced to take effect in the house of correction, 2 remained undisposed of at the time of the survey.

As to the 28 house of correction sentences appealed, 22 were nol-prossed, 5 remained undisposed of, and 1 one-month sentence was confirmed. It may be of interest to note, in passing, that 39 of the 50 cases appealed in October of 1933 were nol-prossed on November 6, 1933, two days before election in which the district attorney was a candidate for the office of mayor of Boston. Were these nol-prosses coincidental? It is also of note that at least 68 prisoners at Deer Island for drunkenness were also paroled to "come up to vote." Perchance this was also a coincidence!

The second survey covers the appeals of all criminal cases as well as drunkenness cases for the years 1936, 1937 and 1938. It shows the extent of "nol-prossing" of appealed cases from the Municipal Court of the City of Boston. It should be borne in mind that during these years most of the judges who composed the said court, both "regulars" and "specials," were men of wide experience and of many years' standing on that bench. They were men who did not sentence haphazardly, but rather, by training and experience, were well qualified to judge what it was best to do in the specific case that came before them for sentence. Moreover, most of these judges had been on the bench for so many years that they had seen some of these prisoners develop from the "temperate" to the "chronic" stages. When they sentenced chronic drunkards to the State Farm they knew what

they were doing it for. The system they were operating had largely developed while they were either practicing law or were on the bench. Ask yourself if they were wrong in 735 out of 923 drunkenness cases in 1936, or in 687 out of 814 drunkenness cases in 1937, or in 797 out of 911 cases in 1938. The following tables show what happened to these appeals:

## Result of Appeals in the Suffolk Superior Court.

## 1936.

Total number of cases   2,813   Total number of drunkenness cases   923										
Convicted         1,562         Convicted         360           Filed         379         Filed         187           Probation         206         Probation         21           Suspended sentence, probation         21         Suspended sentence, probation         21           Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4           1937.           Total number of cases         2,656         Total number of drunkenness cases         814           Nol-prossed or dismissed         765         Nol-prossed         550           Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         13         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Total number of cases		0	2,813	Total number	of dr	unken	ness	cases	923
Convicted         1,562         Convicted         360           Filed         379         Filed         187           Probation         206         Probation         21           Suspended sentence, probation         21         Suspended sentence, probation         21           Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4           1937.           Total number of cases         2,656         Total number of drunkenness cases         814           Nol-prossed or dismissed         765         Nol-prossed         550           Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         13         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5										
Filed         379         Filed         187           Probation         206         Probation         21           Suspended sentence, probation         260         Suspended sentence, probation         21           Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4    Total number of cases  2,656  Total number of drunkenness cases  814  Nol-prossed or dismissed  765  Nol-prossed  550  Convicted  1,393  Convicted  226  Filed  341  Filed  102  Probation  104  Probation  229  Suspended sentence, probation  149  Probation  220  Suspended sentence, probation  130  Fined  221  Suspended sentence, probation  131  Sentenced  340  Sentenced  340  Sentenced  340  Sentenced  350  Sentenced  350  Sentenced  360  Sentenced  375  Pending  375  Pending  5			l.		2					
Probation         206         Probation         21           Suspended sentence, probation         260         Suspended sentence, probation         21           Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4    Total number of cases  2,656  Total number of drunkenness cases  814  Nol-prossed or dismissed  765  Nol-prossed  550  Convicted  1,393  Convicted  226  Filed  341  Filed  102  Probation  194  Probation  22  Suspended sentence, probation  134  Fined  266  Fined  267  Pending  380  Pending  59  1938.				1,562						360
Suspended sentence, probation         260         Suspended sentence, probation         21           Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4           1937.           Total number of cases         2,656         Total number of drunkenness cases         814           Nol-prossed or dismissed         765         Nol-prossed         550           Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Filed		٠	379	Filed .					187
Fined         357         Fined         22           Imprisoned         350         Sentenced         107           Pending         27         Pending         4    Total number of cases  1937.  Total number of cases  2,656  Total number of drunkenness cases  814  Nol-prossed or dismissed  765         Nol-prossed         550           Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Probation			206	Probation					21
Imprisoned	Suspended sentence, prol	oation .		260	Suspended ser	atence	e, prob	ation		21
Pending	Fined			357	Fined .					22
1937.       Total number of cases     2,656     Total number of drunkenness cases     814       Nol-prossed or dismissed     765     Nol-prossed     550       Convicted     1,393     Convicted     226       Filed     341     Filed     102       Probation     194     Probation     22       Suspended sentence, probation     214     Suspended sentence, probation     13       Fined     266     Fined     9       Sentenced     340     Sentenced     75       Pending     38     Pending     5	Imprisoned			350	Sentenced	4			5	107
Total number of cases       2,656       Total number of drunkenness cases       814         Nol-prossed or dismissed       765       Nol-prossed       550         Convicted       1,393       Convicted       226         Filed       341       Filed       102         Probation       194       Probation       22         Suspended sentence, probation       214       Suspended sentence, probation       13         Fined       266       Fined       9         Sentenced       340       Sentenced       75         Pending       38       Pending       5	Pending			27	Pending					4
Total number of cases       2,656       Total number of drunkenness cases       814         Nol-prossed or dismissed       765       Nol-prossed       550         Convicted       1,393       Convicted       226         Filed       341       Filed       102         Probation       194       Probation       22         Suspended sentence, probation       214       Suspended sentence, probation       13         Fined       266       Fined       9         Sentenced       340       Sentenced       75         Pending       38       Pending       5										
Total number of cases       2,656       Total number of drunkenness cases       814         Nol-prossed or dismissed       765       Nol-prossed       550         Convicted       1,393       Convicted       226         Filed       341       Filed       102         Probation       194       Probation       22         Suspended sentence, probation       214       Suspended sentence, probation       13         Fined       266       Fined       9         Sentenced       340       Sentenced       75         Pending       38       Pending       5				1035	7					
Nol-prossed or dismissed       765       Nol-prossed       550         Convicted       1,393       Convicted       226         Filed       341       Filed       102         Probation       194       Probation       22         Suspended sentence, probation       214       Suspended sentence, probation       13         Fined       266       Fined       9         Sentenced       340       Sentenced       75         Pending       38       Pending       5				130						
Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Total number of cases			2,656	Total number	of dr	unker	ness	cases	814
Convicted         1,393         Convicted         226           Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5										
Filed         341         Filed         102           Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Nol-prossed or dismissed			765	Nol-prossed					550
Probation         194         Probation         22           Suspended sentence, probation         214         Suspended sentence, probation         13           Fined         266         Fined         9           Sentenced         340         Sentenced         75           Pending         38         Pending         5	Convicted		٠	1,393	Convicted					226
Suspended sentence, probation       214       Suspended sentence, probation       13         Fined       266       Fined       9         Sentenced       340       Sentenced       75         Pending       38       Pending       5	Filed			341	Filed .					102
Fined	Probation			194	Probation					22
Sentenced       . 340       Sentenced       . 75         Pending       . 38       Pending       . 5         1938.	Suspended sentence, prol	bation .		214	Suspended ser	ntenc	e, prol	ation		13
Pending	Fined			266	Fined .					9
Pending	Sentenced			340	Sentenced					75
1938.				38	Pending					5
										_
				1938	3.					
Total number of cases 2880 Total number of drunkanness cases 011				2000						
20th Manifest of Cases	Total number of cases			2,889	Total number	of dr	unken	ness	cases	911
Nol-prossed or dismissed before trial . 1,024 Nol-prossed or dismissed 674		before tria	١.	1,024	Nol-prossed of	r disn	nissed			674
Sentenced	Sentenced			314	Filed .					79
Fined	Fined			346	Probation					37
Probation 263 Suspended sentence, probation	Probation			263	Suspended ser	ntenc	e, prol	ation	l.	7
Suspended sentence, probation	Suspended sentence, pro	bation .		167						20
Filed	Filed			288	Prison .					61
Pending B					Pending					5

The third survey covers the year 1940, and shows the dispositions of drunkenness cases appealed that year in the Municipal Court of the City of Boston. Here the action by the various judges of said court is set out in detail. The disposition on appeal is carefully noted in each case and allocated to the judge from whose action the appeal was taken. The detail of the survey is too long for inclusion in this report, but the following summary shows what transpired in the cases handled by each judge in the municipal court, where an appeal was taken, and

what happened to these cases after the appeal was entered in the Superior Court. The detailed survey shows that not only were State Farm sentences nol-prossed, but also that most of the jail and house of correction sentences appealed were likewise treated. This survey shows that 374 out of 510 cases were nol-prossed by the district attorney or some one in his office. Moreover, in 78 more such cases, a judge sitting in the Superior Court placed the case on "file" or materially reduced the original sentence imposed. In only 9 cases out of the total of 510 appeals was the "lower court" sentence confirmed.

It should be remembered that when the original sentence was imposed, the judges had the records of these men before them. They also had the benefit of the opinion of the probation department and of a psychiatrist connected with said court. Were these judges wrong in the disposition of 501 cases out of 510 that appealed? Note the Summary which follows, showing the judges who played a part in the sentencing, the number of cases surveyed, and the result in each group of cases.

Summary of Dispositions, 1940.

JUDGE		Number of Cases.	Nol- prossed.	Pro- bation.	Filed.	Mor- tality.	Sentence reduced.	Sentence con- firmed.
Putnam, C.J.		145	103	15	6	124	20	1
Zottoli, J		130	98	7	11	116	14	-
Carr, J		20	18	-	1	19	1	-
Adlow, J		33	24		5	29	3	1
Gillen, J		25	18	3	2	23	2	-
Riley, J		9	8	-	1	9	-	-
Barron, J.		62	46	6	6	58	2	2
Keniston, J.		80	56	7	5	68	8	4
Duff, J		6	3	1	2	6	-	-
		510	374	39	39	452	49	9

Thus it appears that out of 510 cases appealed to the Superior Court -

<sup>374</sup> were nol-prossed.

<sup>39</sup> were placed on probation. 39 were filed.

<sup>452</sup> mortality.

<sup>49</sup> sentences were reduced 9 sentences were confirmed 58, or 11.7 per cent, finally served a sentence.

<sup>510</sup> total.

Now take a look at the personal charts of some of these inebriates, which are typical of the class that is being "nol-prossed" and "filed" on appeal, and note the number of "nol-prosses" and "filings" they received when the lower court judges were trying to salvage them. Then note how these unfortunate men and women, whose cases were so recklessly nol-prossed at crucial periods, finally degenerated into irreversible human wrecks who had to be confined in our municipal and state infirmaries and mental hospitals. Is it not clear that if they had not been permitted to go on frequent sprees by means of the nol-pros, they probably would have been at least partially self-supporting at the State Farm? It is clear that they probably could not have been cured of their addiction, but they could have been prevented from committing mental or physical suicide. This would not only have been better for them, but also for the city and State which now have to care for a complete derelict instead of a partial one. If these were isolated cases, the result might not be so burdensome.

But a glance at the many personal charts of these addicts clearly shows the seriousness of the situation. They show that they are not the exception but the rule. Here lies an important reason for 25 per cent of the patients in our state mental institutions, and for much of the other breakdown which will hereafter be discussed. Thus are intemperates permitted to degenerate into chronic drunkards, with all that follows.

13-2		MALE			JUNE						T. ZO	
YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910												
1911												
1912												
1913												
1914												
1915												
1916												
1917												
1918												
1919												
1920												
1921										R		
1922					1201/4		R					
1923						R						
1924												
1925		R			R							
1926						R						
1927				P		F I-M						#15
1928				0 1	2		200					
1929							R					
1930							R	R	5	I-M		
1931			P SS			FIM		I	М			
1932	R	M	7.7	2-M	F	SFSC N			F	SF SC.	ZiP	
1933	-					I-M	10		SF <sub>S</sub>	SF SC.	N SF	SF S.
1934	S.C.	2-M	BCH				SFSC N	SF	SF	N P	SC	015
	SFN	4.1.H	T.S.H			FSF	SCF	SF SS				
1936	- 1/4		F	5. F.				• S.	F.			R
1937	F	RET	To	S.F.			10 15		S.	F	RF	R
1938	To		F.		RET.	To S.	F.	F		SF N		
1939	5		MN 3		SF N	RR	I-M N	5	FNP	SF N	I-M	
1940	SF <sub>S</sub>	c	S.F.		F	RET	To	S	F	A		
1941	A		J				AT ST			DEC.	18,194	0 /
1942												
1943												
1743												

## PERSONAL CHART 13-Z.

## Penological Record.

Male; born in 1876; lived under five different aliases in five different places in the crowded areas of Boston and Charlestown.

0 / 00 1001	751	Cl	Del seek es
Oct. 23, 1921	Dk "	Central	Rel. prob. off.
Jul. 3, 1922	44	44	
June 6, 1923	44		44
Feb. 9, 1925	6.6	•	46
May 23, 1925	44	44	44
June 14, 1926	44	44	44
Mar. 14, 1927	£ 6	**	
Apr. 11, 1927	44	44	Pr. 10-13-27
Jun. 2, 1927		**	Filed
	Surr (dk)	44	1 mo. H. C.
Dec. 27, 1927	Dk "	**	\$15.
Mar. 26, 1928	14	44	10 ds. H. C.
Apr. 20, 1928	**	4.	15 ds. Jail
Jul. 9, 1929	"	4.6	Rel. prob. off.
Jul. 12, 1930		**	Filed
Aug. 25, 1930		44	Rel. Prob. off.
Sept. 2, 1930	4.6		5 ds. jail
Sept. 26, 1930	**	4.6	1 mo. H. C.
Dec. 8, 1930	46		5 ds. Jail
Mar. 2, 1931			1 mo. H. C. ss Pr. 3-2-32
Jun. 1, 1931	4.6	6.6	Filed
4.4	Surr (dk)	*	1 mo. H. C.
Aug. 19, 1931	Dk	4.1	1 mo. H. C.
Jan. 17, 1932	4.5	44	Rel. prob. off.
Jan. 23, 1932	6.6	44	1 mo. Jail
Feb. 26, 1932	6.6	**	10 ds. Jail
Mar. 7, 1932	44	**	2 mos. H. C.
May 10, 1932	4.6	6.6	Filed
Jun. 14, 1932	4.6	4.6	St. Farm app. 7-5-32 Sup. Ct. nol pros.
Sept. 26, 1932	44	6.4	In hospital
Sept. 30, 1932	Hosp. (dk)	44	Filed
Oct. 3, 1932	Dk	6.6	St. Farm app.
Nov. 7, 1932	4.6	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
May 20, 1933	44	Central	Rel. prob. off.
May 25, 1933	4.6	6.6	5 ds. jail
Jun. 8, 1933	4.6	44	1 mo. H. C.
Jul. 12, 1933	4.6	4.6	10 ds. Jail
Aug. 30, 1933	54	45	10 ds. Jail
Sep. 14, 1933	44	44	St. Farm app. 10-2-33 Sup. Ct. Nol pros
Oct. 7, 1933	Dk	66	St. Farm app.
Nov. 6, 1933	44	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Nov. 20, 1933	66	Central	St. Farm app.
Dec. 5, 1933	44	44	St. Farm app.
Jan. 3, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup.	2 mos. H. C.
Mar. 19, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Apr. 2, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup.	2 mos. H. C.
Jul. 5, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Aug. 6, 1934	Dk	Suff, Sup.	Nol prossed
Aug. 28, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Sep. 4, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Oct. 1, 1934	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Nov. 5, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Jan. 2, 1935	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Jan. 7, 1935	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Jun. 6, 1935	Dk	Central	Filed
Jul. 1, 1935	Dk	44	St. Farm app.

Aug. 5, 1935	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Filed
Sep. 30, 1935	Dk	Roxbury	St. Farm ss Pr. 9-30-36
Mar. 9, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. Rox. Ct.
.4	Susp. rev. (dk)	Roxbury	St. Farm
Jun: 10, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Oct. 10, 1936	Rel. on parole fr	rom St. Farm, to e	хр. 3-9-37.
Dec. 26, 1936	Dk	Central	RPO
Jan. 19, 1937	Dk	**	Filed. Ret. to State Fzrm
Jun. 3, 1937	Rel. on parole fi	rom St. Farm to e	xpire 6-18-37
Jun. 30, 1937	Dk	Central	RPO
Jul. 1, 1937	Dk	44	10 days CJ
Jul. 15, 1937	Dk	4.6	15 days CJ
Aug. 9, 1937	Dk	4.6	St. Farm SS Pr. 2-9-38
Aug. 10, 1937	Dk	4.6	Filed
Aug. 10, 1937	Surr-Dk	6.6	St. Farm
Nov. 10, 1937	Rel. on parole fi	rom St. Farm to e	xpire 8-9-38
Nov 11, 1937	Dk	Central	RPO
Dec. 4, 1937	Dk	Central 12-7-	Filed-Ret St. Farm
Apr. 4, 1938	Rel. on parole fr	rom St. Farm	
Apr. 5, 1938	Dk	Central	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Aug. 22, 1938	Dk	Central 8-29	Filed
Sep. 2, 1938	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Oct. 15, 1938	Dk	44	St. Farm App
Nov. 7, 1938	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Nov. 9, 1938	Dk	Central	1 Month HC
Dec. 9, 1938	Dk	Central	St. Farm App

January 23, 1939. Record not compiled in the Board of Probation. The above record taken from the Central Court card.

Feb. 3, 1939	Dk	Central	State Farm, appealed.
Feb. 6, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
Mar. 9, 1939	Dk	Central	2 mos. HC-appealed.
Apr. 3, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
Apr. 18, 1939	Dk	Central	3 mos. HC-appealed.
May 1, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
May 20, 1939	Dk	Central	State Farm-appealed.
June 5, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
June 9, 1939	Dk	Central	RPO
July 18, 1939	Dk	Central	RPO
July 19, 1939	Dk	Central	1 mo. HC-appealed.
Aug. 7, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
Sept. 7, 1939	Dk	Central	State Farm-appealed.
Oct. 3, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed.
Oct. 9, 1939	Dk	Central	1 mo. House of Correction
Nov. 8, 1939	Dk	Central	State Farm-appealed
Dec. 5, 1939	Dk	Suff. Superior	1 month jail.
Jan. 25, 1940	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Feb. 5, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	St. Farm
May 14, 1940	Rel.	on parole from St. Farm, to e	exp. 2-5-41.
May 15, 1940	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm

Died at State Farm, December 18, 1940.

# Hospitalization Record.

# Boston City Hospital:

May 6, 1923 to May 11, 1923. Epilepsy; delirium tremens.

July 8, 1928 to July 11, 1928. Acute alcoholism.

Sept. 25, 1932 to Sept. 30, 1932. Post alcoholism; post epileptic.

June 1, 1933 to June 7, 1933. Ischio — rectal abscess.

Boston City Hospital — Con.

Nov. 9, 1933 to Nov. 10, 1933. Alcoholism addiction.

Mar. 20, 1934 to Mar. 22, 1934. Alcoholism; sprained left ankle; later proven to be fractured; sent to Charles Street Jail by ambulance.

Nov. 12, 1934 to Dec. 17, 1934. Chronic myocarditis: dislocated right elbow; fractured radius. Fell on sidewalk while drunk.

Boston City Hospital, Out-Patient Department:

Jan. 5, 1929. Alcoholism.

Dec. 18, 1934. Treatment for fractured elbow.

Dec. 22, 1934. Same.

Dec. 24, 1934. Same.

Dec. 26, 1934. Same.

Feb. 25, 1936. Lacerated right side of face; alcoholism.

Long Island Hospital:

Mar. 7, 1932 to Mar. 25, 1932. Infected and broken jaw.

June 13, 1933 to Oct. 16, 1933. Infected knee.

Jan. 8, 1935 to Jan. 16, 1935. Destitution.

Tewksbury State Hospital:

Jan. 16, 1935 to May 6, 1935. Destitution; convalescent fracture.

17-2	7	MALE	В	ORN S	EPT. 17	1886.		CHAR	T BY J	UDGE .	J. T. 70	TTOLI
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1939	DF. S			3McC	F 2-M	SF N A P		5c 1-M	SF N S	F		LIH S
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1744		11111111		11/1/12	TITITA		-					

#### PERSONAL CHART 17-Z.

#### Penological Record.

Male; born in 1886; lived under five aliases in five different places in the crowded sections of Boston,

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June 5, 1919 Make false alarm of fire Boston Muncp 20 days CJ
                                               on file
              Dk
 Sept. 23, 1920 Dk.
                                                RPO
                                   Central
 Dec. 5, 1920 Dk.
                                                RPO
 Mar. 10, 1921 Dk.
                                                RPO
 May 22, 1921 "
                                                RPO
 Nov. 5, 1921 Dk.
                                              RPO
                                   So. Boston
                                               RPO
 Dec. 4, 1921 "
                                   Central
 Mar. 22, 1922 "
                                                RPO
                                              RPO
1 mo. HC.
 May 12, 1922 "
                                   So. Boston
 June 16, 1922 "
                                              RPO
 Aug. 26, 1922 "
                                   Central
 Sept. 18, 1922 "
                                                RPO
 Nov. 16, 1922 "
                                   So. Boston Probation
1 mo. HC. Surr. & Filed
 Nov. 20, 1922 "
 Dec. 19, 1922 "
                                   Central
                                               State Farm S.S. Prob. 6/20/23
 Jan. 4, 1923 "
                                                RPO
 Jan. 5, 1923 "
                                   So. Boston 3 mos. H.C. appld.
Suff. Sup. 30 days jail
 Feb. 5, 1923 "
 Oct. 9, 1923
                                   So. Boston
                                                filed
 Oct. 23, 1923
                                                 $10.
 Nov. 23, 1923 Dk
                                   Bos. Municip. Filed
Jan. 2, 1924 "
                                                Prob.
 Apr. 23, 1924
                                          4-24- Filed
                                     " " 30 days CJ
            Sur (dk)
 July 5, 1924 Dk
                                   Boston Muncp Prob. 1-7-25
 July 14, 1924 Dk
                                                 Filed
              Sur (dk)
                                                 Prob.
 May 26, 1924 Dk
                                                RPO
 July 8, 1924 "
                                                 RPO
                                      44
 July 9, 1924
                                                 Filed
                                      4.6
 July 15, 1924
                                                 Filed
                                     6.6
              Sur (dk)
                                               5 days Jail
 July 21, 1924 Dk
                                                 1 mo CJ
 Aug. 13, 1924 "
                                     4.6
                                                RPO
                                      4.4
 Aug. 14, 1924
                                                5 days Jail
                                     44
 Aug. 27, 1924
                                                St Farm app
                                     6.6
 Sept. 4, 1924
                                                Filed
                                   Central
 Oct. 6, 1924
                                               30 days H. C
 Dec. 29, 1924
                                   Bos. Muncp. 5 days C J
 Jan. 3, 1925
                                                3 mos CJ
                                              State Farm app
 Mar. 12, 1925
               6.6
 Mar. 13, 1925 App Dk Withdrawn
                                                 State Farm
 June 16, 1925 Dk.
                                   So. Boston
                                                 filed
                                   Bos. Munep.
 Dec. 18, 1925
                                                 Filed (Ret SF)
 Apr. 23, 1926
                                         4-24 Filed (Ret SF)
 Sept. 8, 1926
                                                 Filed
 Sept. 20, 1926
                                                 3 days CJ
 Feb. 4, 1927
                                                 1 mo HC app
                                   Waltham
 Feb. 9, 1927
               6.0
                                   Middl. Super St Farm
 May 9, 1927 Rel. on parole-exp 2-28-28
 Aug. 5, 1927 Dk.
                                 Central
                                             ret. to State Farm
 Jan. 3, 1928 Gv false alarm of fire Boston Muncp 3 mos HC
 Sept. 1, 1928 Dk
                                     " RPO
 Sept. 4, 1928
                                                 Filed
 Sept. 8, 1928 Vagrant
                                                 3 mos CJ
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Dec. 11, 1928	Dk	Boston Muncp	1 mo HC
Jan. 10, 1929	4.4	4.6	State Farm app
Feb. 4, 1929	46	Suff Sup	Filed
Feb. 5, 1929	11	Boston Muncp	State Farm
	Rel. on parole fm. exp.		
June 21, 1929		Suff Sup	On file (until rearrested)
Dec. 12, 1930	Dk	Boston Munep	
Dec. 15, 1930	**	4.6	Filed
Feb. 19, 1931	64	"	RPO
Apr. 1, 1931	Dk.	Central	RPO
Oct. 22, 1931		Bos. Muncp.	Prob. 10–19–32
Nov. 16, 1931		4.	Filed
Mar. 22, 1932	Sur (dk)		1 mo HC
July 20, 1932	1) K	Boston Munep	RPO
Sept. 24, 1932	14	64	10 ds HC
Dec. 6, 1932	64	44	5 ds CJ
Dec. 7, 1932	4.6	44	1 mo HC app
Jan. 3, 1933	4.6	Suff Sup	Filed
Jan. 4, 1933	6.6	Boston Muncp	
Jan. 19, 1933	4.6	11	3 mos HC app
Feb. 6, 1933	4.6	Suff Super	Nol pros.
Feb. 15, 1933	4.6		State Farm app (3-6-33-SC Nol pros.)
Mar. 13, 1933	6.6	44	1 mo HC
Mar. 28, 1933	4.6	4.4	2 mos CJ
Apr. 12, 1933	4.6	44	RPO
Apr. 13, 1933	44	4.4	10 ds CJ
Apr. 23, 1933	4.6	4.6	RPO
May 2, 1933	4.6	44	St Farm app
May 23, 1933	4.6	44	1 mo HC
June 5, 1933	4.6	Suff Sup	Nol pros.
June 6, 1933	11	Central	State Farm, appealed
July 3, 1933	44	-	Nol Pros.
July 13, 1933			State Farm app (8-7-33-SC Nol pros.)
Aug. 10, 1933	Larc	4.6	3 mos HC
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933	Larc	66	3 mos HC St. Farm. App.
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933	Larc Dk	"." Suff. Sup.	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros.
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933 Dec. 5, 1933	Lare Dk ''	Suff. Sup.	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros. St. F. App. 1-3-34 S.C. Nol pr.
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Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933 Dec. 5, 1934 Jan. 26, 1934 Feb. 6, 1934 Feb. 12, 1934 Mar. 6, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Mar. 29, 1934 Apr. 2, 1934 July 2, 1934 July 21, 1934 Nov. 23, 1934 Nov. 24, 1934 Apr. 10, 1935 Apr. 25, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 Sept. 11, 1935 Oct. 7, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935	Lare Dk Dk Dk	Suff. Sup. Central Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central 4-23-35 Central 4-25-35 Central 4-25-35 Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup.	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros. St. F. App. 1-3-34 S.C. Nol pr. St. F, App. Nol prossed St. Farm app. Nol prossed. St. Farm app. 1 mo. H. C. 10 ds Jail St. Farm app.
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933 Jan. 26, 1934 Feb. 6, 1934 Mar. 5, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Apr. 2, 1934 July 21, 1934 July 21, 1934 Nov. 23, 1934 Nov. 24, 1934 Apr. 10, 1935 Apr. 25, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 Sept. 11, 1935 Oct. 7, 1935 Nov. 7, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935	Lare Dk " " " " " " 2 cts. Rel. on parole, to exp. Dk Rel. on parole, to exp. Dk Rel. on parole, to exp. Dk " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	Suff. Sup. Central Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central 4-1-35. Central 4-23-35 Central 4-25-35 Central 4-25-35 Central Gentral Central Gentral Central Gentral Central Gentral Central Gentral	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros. St. F. App. 1-3-34 S.C. Nol pr. St. F, App. Nol prossed St. Farm app. Nol prossed. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm Filed. Filed, Ret. St. Farm Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  1 mo. H. C. 10 ds Jail St. Farm app.
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933 Dec. 5, 1934 Jan. 26, 1934 Feb. 6, 1934 Feb. 12, 1934 Mar. 6, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Mar. 29, 1934 Apr. 2, 1934 July 2, 1934 July 21, 1934 Nov. 23, 1934 Nov. 24, 1934 Apr. 10, 1935 Apr. 25, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 Sept. 11, 1935 Oct. 7, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935	Lare Dk Dk	Suff. Sup. Central Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central  " " 4-1-35. Central 4-23-35 Central 4-25-35 Central " " Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Central Central Central Central	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros. St. F. App. 1-3-34 S.C. Nol pr. St. F, App. Nol prossed St. Farm app. Nol prossed. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm Filed.  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  1 mo. H. C. 10 ds Jail St. Farm app. I mo. H. C. St. Farm app. Filed Tmos. H. C. I mo. H. C. app.
Aug. 10, 1933 Nov. 8, 1933 Dec. 4, 1933 Jan. 26, 1934 Feb. 6, 1934 Mar. 5, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Mar. 16, 1934 Apr. 2, 1934 July 21, 1934 July 21, 1934 Nov. 23, 1934 Nov. 24, 1934 Apr. 10, 1935 Apr. 25, 1935 June 20, 1935 June 20, 1935 Sept. 11, 1935 Oct. 7, 1935 Nov. 7, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935 Dec. 2, 1935	Lare Dk Dk	Suff. Sup. Central Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central  " " 4-1-35. Central 4-23-35 Central 4-25-35 Central " " Suff. Sup. Central Suff. Sup. Central Central Central Central Central	3 mos HC St. Farm. App. Nol Pros. St. F. App. 1-3-34 S.C. Nol pr. St. F, App. Nol prossed St. Farm app. Nol prossed. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm app. St. Farm Filed. Filed, Ret. St. Farm Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  1 mo. H. C. 10 ds Jail St. Farm app.

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Mar. 5, 1936 Dk
                                     Suff. Sup.
                                                  Filed
May 4, 1936 Dk
                                     Central
                                                  1 mo. Jail
                                               2 mos. HC app.
2 mos. H. C.
2 mos. H. C. app.
2 mos. Jail
15 ds. Jail
June 23, 1936 "
July 6, 1936 "
                                    Suff. Sup.
July 28, 1936 "
                                     Central
Aug. 3, 1936 . "
                                     Suff. Sup.
Oct. 5, 1936 "
                                     Central
Oct. 24, 1936 "
                                       4.6
                                                  $15. comm.
Dec. 22, 1936 "
                                  1 mo. H. C. app. 1-14-37
St. Farm ss Pr. 7-14-37
Central 1 mo. H. C. app.
Suff. Sup. Nol prossed
Central St. Farm app.
Suff. Sup. Filed
Central St. Farm app.
Suff. Sup. Nol prossed
Central 4 mos. H. C.
                                                  1 mo. H. C. app. 1-14-37 NF
Jan. 13, 1937 "
Feb. 10, 1937 Dk
Mar. 1, 1937 Dk
Mar. 2, 1937 Dk
Apr. 5, 1937 Dk
Apr. 7, 1937 Dk
May 3, 1937 Dk
May 7, 1937 Dk
                                   Central
July 10, 1937 Dk
                                                   Def.
                                                  Filed
July 13, 1937 Def. rem. (dk)
                                       6.6
July 15, 1937 Dk
                                                   2 mos. H. C. app.
July 29, 1937 Dk
                                                  St. Farm app. 8-2-37 Nol Pr.
                                     4.6
Aug. 4, 1937 Dk
                                                  10 ds. Jail ss Pr. 2-2-38
                                      6.6
Aug. 5, 1937 Dk
                                                  3 mos. H. C. app.
                                     **
Aug. 5, 1937 Surr (Dk)
                                                  Prob. ext. 2-2-38
                                  Suff. Sup.
                                               Nol prossed
Sept. 8, 1937 Dk
Sept. 11, 1937 Dk
                             Central Filed
Sept. 11, 1937 Surr (Dk)
                                                  10 days Jail
Sept. 27, 1937 Dk (Appeal of 7-15-37-Defaulted in Superior Court)
Dec. 1, 1937 Dk
                          Central St. Farm ss Prob. 6-1-38
Dec. 29, 1937 Dk
                                    Central
                                                   Filed
                                              St. Farm
Dec. 29, 1937 Surr-Dk
Mar. 29, 1938 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 12-28-38
                    Central Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Mar. 30, 1938 Dk
July 30, 1938 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 12-29-38
Aug. 11, 1938 Dk
                                 Central Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Dec. 24, 1938 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 1-10-39
                                    Central St. Farm SS Prob 6-28-39
Dec. 27, 1938 Dk
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January 23, 1939. Record not compiled in the Board of Probation. The above record taken from the Central Court card.

Jan.	26, 1939	Dk	Central	Defaulted.
Jan.	27, 1939	CDW (Dk)	Central	Filed.
Jan.	27, 1939	Surr (Dk)	Central	State Farm.
Apr.	27, 1939	Released on parole from	State Farm, ex	rpired Jan. 26, 1940.
June	1, 1939	Dk	Central	Filed. Ret. to State Farm.
Sept.	30, 1939	Released on parole fron	State Farm. ex	pired Feb. 29, 1940.
		Dk		Filed. Ret. to State Farm.
Mar.	15, 1940	Release on parole, to en	p. 4-1-40.	
Mar.	28, 1940	Dk	Central	1 mo. H. C. app.
4.6		False alarm fire	Central	3 mos. H. C. app.
Apr.	9, 1940	Dk False alarm	Suff. Sup.	1. Filed 2. 2 mos. Jail
June	8, 1940	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
July	1, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
July	11, 1940	Dk	Central	
July	25, 1940	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Aug.	5, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	1 mo. Jail
Aug.	14, 1940	Rel. from H. C. (?) to	exp. 8-30-40.	
	15, 1940		Central	St. Farm app.
Sept.	3, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Sept.	4, 1940	Dk	Central	St. Farm ss Pr. 3-5-41
	5, 1940		Central	Filed
86		Surr (dk)	Central	St. Farm

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Dec. 5, 1940 Rel. on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 9-4-41.
                                                Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Dec. 26, 1940 Dk
                                   Central
Apr. 26, 1941 Rel. on parole St. Farm, to exp. 9-25-41.
May 13, 1941 Dk
                                  Central
                                                Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Sept. 27, 1941 Rel. on parole St. Farm, to exp. 10-12-41.
Sept. 28, 1941 Dk
                                   Central
May 29, 1943 Dk
                                   Central
Aug. 28, 1943 Dk
                                   Central
                                                 RPO
Sept. 2, 1943 Dk
                                                 St. Farm app.
                                   Central
Sept. 7, 1943 Dk
                                   Suff. Sup.
                                                 Nol prossed
Oct. 1, 1943 Dk
                                   Westfield
                                                1 mo. H. C.
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Record complete to October 26, 1943. MAS:CMD.

## Hospitalization Record.

#### Long Island Hospital:

May 1, 1914 to June 8, 1914. Alcoholism.

Nov. 21, 1925 to Dec. 17, 1925. Alcoholic neuritis.

May 17, 1927 to June 30, 1927. Alcoholism.

July 12, 1927 to Jan. 1, 1928. Multiple boils.

Nov. 6, 1929 to Mar. 31, 1930. Mitral stenosis; chronic myocarditis.

Apr. 6, 1931 to June 8, 1931. Destitution.

June 12, 1931 to Nov. 28, 1931. Destitution.

Dec. 16, 1931 to May 2, 1932. Cardiac.

May 9, 1932 to May 30, 1932. Destitution.

June 3, 1932 to June 27, 1932. Destitution.

July 7, 1934 to Aug. 6, 1934. Chronic myocarditis.

Apr. 11, 1935 to Apr. 22, 1935. Chronic alcoholism; destitution.

May 27, 1935 to July 7, 1935. Destitution.

Aug. 6, 1935 to Aug. 15, 1935: Chronic alcoholism.

Dec. 1, 1936 to Dec. 22, 1936. Alcoholism; destitution.

Jan. 20, 1937 to Feb. 9, 1937. Alcoholism; destitution.

Sept. 20, 1937 to Jan. 10, 1938. Fractured rib, right.

Aug. 3, 1938 to Aug. 8, 1938. Alcoholism; destitution.

Dec. 29, 1938 to Feb. 1, 1939. Same.

Apr. 29, 1939 to June 1, 1939. Same.

Oct. 2, 1939 to Oct. 30, 1939. Same.

Dec. 10, 1940 to Dec. 28, 1940. Same.

Apr. 28, 1941 to May 13, 1941. Same.

Sept. 29, 1941 to May 25, 1943. Same.

June 11, 1943 to Aug. 9, 1943. Same.

Jan. 8, 1944 to Apr. 27, 1944. Same.

Apr. 29, 1944 to May 20, 1944. Same.

# Social History.

Since the generalities of this man's lack of social adaptability are characteristic of a large number of chronic alcoholics, it seems appropriate to touch upon some of the "high spots" of his social history here.

Childhood at home was pretty much spoiled by an alcoholic father, who

spent most of his last years as a patient in state mental hospitals. The home was stricken with poverty and lacked training for the proper bringing up of a family.

Graduated from high school at seventeen years, and at eighteen years joined the navy. Served four years, drank heavily, court-martialed and given dishonorable discharge. Soon re-enlisted in army, under another name, drank heavily, served army prison sentence, court-martialed, and again dishonorably discharged. Served aboard different merchant ships, but could not hold any job long because of alcoholic habits. Joined British Army, served twenty-six months, wounded, received small pension from British government when not drinking.

Married, but unsuccessfully. Beat wife, neglected her, threatened to kill her and in fact did try to choke her, saved only by outsiders who heard her cries. She divorced him. Has worked very little, lost jobs repeatedly because of drunkenness, and has spent most of his life "sponging" on relatives, friends and society.

42-2	7	MALE		BORN	OCT.	1,187	7.	CHAR	T BY J	UDGE .	J. T. ZO	TTOLI
YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908					R				R		P	
				P	K				10			
1909			-					F		4 24	H.C.	
1910	-	1-14	r	SF				-	SF 55	4-M	- N-U-	
1911		S.F.		5F 55		F		S.F.	55			
1912	r	S.	P									-
1913				R							=	R
1914					D				R	F S	711111111111111111111111111111111111111	
1915		Ç.			P	- 1	100		F	5.	E	
1916			F			0-D	FM SF	5.0	S.F.			P
1917	F	F	RF	0 10 5			5.F.		5.F 5.5	5	E	
1918	RF	P.F	SP	s.c. F	F 1-14			FS	F		SFA	FSF
1919	5	F =		F	P.F. SF #	SF F	5.			F	F	2 M 5 S
1920			F	-M H	6.		FP		FZMA			
1921					R.F. 1-M	I-M	P	FF	F 2-M P 55	2-M		
1922				RP R		FZM		F	F 2M	FP	P 2	M
1923			3MF	3-M	H.C.	10	SF	₩FR	SF SF 55 55	FPSF	S.	F
1924	5.F			F	RET	To S.	F	S	F F S P		Б	
1925	5 F		P\$5	2-M		2-M		H				
1926			2 M					F.I-M	F J-M	F 2	М	SFSC
1927	PSF	J-M PA		Par. Rev	DKED 6	MINS	F <sub>S.C</sub>	5. F.			RET. TO	5.F.
1928	5.F		F RE	r. to S	F				I-M		S.	
		et To	SF		<b>5</b> 5		FER	ET. To		33		1-M 55
		т-м	SF	참	SE	N				E SF	2-M	2-M
	H.6		I-M	1-14 5	F S.FNN	SFNS	FN S	F N P	SE	K ELM	HM S.F N	
1931	11-00	E	I IM	7	APP	APA	PA	FB	3M 55	TOTAL A	(65///	F
1932	#/////	14/11/	MA SO	7/////		F	/////A	P		0.8P/		1/////
1933	80		797			7777						
1934		下////										
1935	- 1444	1/14//			14,X,		TIPS TO		11/1/1/1/	X/1 <del>3</del> //		1.4.14
	R			050		BIC		XXX				
				Long	4////	1514			ØSP/			
1938	XXX	4/8//			V, 14//	R 141						
1939		NAIN	(/// <del>y</del> }	050			rand	////	R/14	08///		
1940												
1941	8///	LONG	151	AND	1405	P///N	XX/9/X	39/79	SEX	177/4/		
1942	R///											
1943		R						R	R	R SF		
1944	FP											

# PERSONAL CHART 42-Z.

# Penological Record.

Male; born 1877; lived under 13 aliases in three places in Charlestown.

May 29, 1908	Dk.	Central		RPO
Sept. 10, 1908	Dk.	Central		RPO
Nov. 9, 1908	Dk.	Central		Probation April 28, 1908
Apr. 5, 1909	Dk.	Central		Probation April 7, 1910.
Apr. 5, 1909	Surrender Dk.	Central		Probation
Jan. 31, 1910	Dk.	Central		On File
Jan. 31, 1910	Dk.	Central		1 month H. C.
Mar. 1, 1910	Dk.	Central		On File
Aug. 26, 1910	Dk.	Central		On File
Sept. 14, 1910	Dk.	Central		4 mos. H. C.
Jan. 4, 1911	Dk.	Central		State Farm
May 1, 1911	Dk.	Central		State Farm SS. Prob. 11/1/11
July 3, 1911	Dk.	Central		Filed
July 3, 1911	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm
	Dk,	Central		State Farm SS. Prob. 3/2/12
Sept. 25, 1911	Dk. Dk.			Filed
Jan. 1, 1912		Central		State Farm
Jan. 1, 1912	Surrender Dk.	Central		Released
Apr. 9, 1913	Dk.	Central		
Dec. 7, 1913	Dk.	Central		RPO
Sept. 20, 1914	Dk.	Central		RPO
Oct. 7, 1914	Dk.	Central		Filed
Nov. 3, 1914	Dk.	Central		State Farm SS, Prob. 5/5/15
				Default Warrant
Jan. 11, 1915	Dk	Roxbury		Sentenced
May 18, 1915	Dk.	Central		Filed
May 18, 1915	Dk. Default War.	Central		Probation November 17, 1915
Aug. 31, 1915	Dk.	Charlestown		Prob 2/29/16 Filed
Sept. 1, 1915	Dk.	Central		Filed
Sept. 1, 1915	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm
Mar. 1, 1916	Dk.	Central		Filed
Apr. 7, 1916	Dk.	Central		15 days H. C.
Apr. 26, 1916	Dk.	Central	4/28	Filed
May 23, 1916	Dk.	Charlestown		30 days HC
June 23, 1916	Dk.	Central		1 month H. C.
July 8, 1916	Dk.	Central		State Farm — Appealed
Aug. 7, 1916	" 7/8App -	- Sup Ct		State Farm
Dec. 27, 1916	Dk.	Central		Probation June 27, 1917
Jan. 15, 1917	Surrender Dk.	Central		1 month H. C.
Jan. 15, 1917	Dk,	Central		Filed
Feb. 10, 1917	Dk.	Central	2/12	Filed
Mar. 11, 1917	11	Charlestown	-/	RPO
Mar. 24, 1917	4.6	11		\$5 — Rev.
Mar. 28, 1917	Dk.	Central		10 days Jail
	Dk.	Central		10 days Jail
Apr. 9, 1917	DK.			\$5
Apr. 24, 1917		Charlestown		State Farm
May 31, 1917	Dk.	Central		
Sept. 1, 1917		Central		RPO
Sept. 5, 1917	Dk.	Central		State Farm SS, Prob. 3/6/18
Sept. 13, 1917	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm
Sept. 13, 1917	Dk.	Central		Filed
Jan. 14, 1918	Dk.	Central	. /	RPO
Jan. 18, 1918	Dk.	Central	1/21	Filed
Feb. 4, 1918	Dk.	Central		Probation 8/7/18
Feb. 25, 1918	Surrender Dk.	Central		Probation 8/28/18
Feb. 25, 1918	Dk.	Central		Filed
Mar. 21, 1918	4.6	Charlestown		State Farm — App Sup Ct — Filed
May 9, 1918	Dk.	Central		Filed

May 9, 19	918	Surrender Dk.	Central		1 month Jail
July 22, 19	918	Dk.	Roxbury		State Farm susp Sent. 1/22/19
	•				Filed
July 29, 19	918	Dk.	Central		Probation
Aug. 1, 19	918	Dk.	Central		Filed
Aug. 1, 19	918	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm
Aug. 5, 19	918	Dk.	Sup Ct.		State Farm
Oct. 5, 19	918	Dk.	Central		Filed
Oct. 7, 19	918	Dk.	Central		3 mos. H. C., Appealed
Nov. 5, 19	918	Dk.	Central		State Farm, Appealed
Nov. 11, 19	918	Dk.	Central		Filed
Nov. 14, 19	918	Dk.	Central		State Farm, Appealed
Dec. 2, 19	918	44	Sup Ct	11/14	app Filed
Dec. 5, 19	918	Dk.	Central 、		State Farm
Feb. 11, 19		4.6	Sup Ct	12/5	app Filed
Mar. 7, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
Mar. 24, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
Apr. 18, 19	919	Dk.	Central		On File
May 1, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Prob. 10/29/19
May 8, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
May 8, 19	919	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm, Appealed
May 15, 19	919	Throwing glass in st.	Sup Ct		Nol prossed
June 20, 19	919	Dk.	Central		State Farm SS, Pr. 12/17/19
July 1, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
July 1, 19	919	Surrender Dk.	Central		State Farm
Oct. 9, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
Nov. 25, 19	919	Dk.	Central		Filed
Dec. 8, 19	919	Dk.	Central	12/10	2mHCSS, Prob. 6/9/20
Mar. 10, 19	920	Surrender Dk.	Central		2 mos. H. C.
Mar. 10, 19	920	Dk.	Central		Filed
July 3, 19	920	Dk.	Central		Filed
July 21, 19	920	Dk.	Central		Prob. 1/19/21
Sept. 4, 19	920	Surrender Dk.	Central		On File
Sept. 4, 19	920	Larceny	Central		2 mos. HC, Appealed
May 15, 19	921	Dk.	Central		RPO
May 26, 19	21	Dk.	Central		1mHCSS, Prob. 11/23/21
May 31, 19	21	Dk.	Central		Filed
May 31, 19	21	Surrender Dk.	Central		1 month H. C.
July 14, 19	921	Dk.	Central		Prob. 1/11/22
Aug. 8, 19	21	Dk.	Central		Filed
Aug. 8, 19	21	Surrender Dk.	Central		Prob. 2/8/22
Sept. 2, 19	21	Surrender Dk.	Central		Prob. 3/1/22
Sept. 2, 19	921	Dk.	Central		Filed
Sept. 3, 19		Surrender Dk.	Central	9/6	2mHCSS, Prob. 3/1/22
Sept. 3, 19	921	Dk.	Central	9/6	Filed
Sept. 17, 19	21	Surrender Dk.	Central		2 mos. H. C.
Sept. 17, 19	921	Dk.	Central		Filed
Apr. 6, 19	922	Dk.	Central		RPO
Apr. 7, 19	922	Dk.	Central	4/10	Prob. 10/11/22
Apr. 9, 19	922	Dk	Charlestown		RPO
May 7, 19	922	Dk.	Central		RPO
May 10, 19	922	61	Charlestown		Filed
June 12, 19	922	Dk.	Central		Filed
June 12, 19		Surrender Dk.	Central		2mHCSS, Prob. 12/13/22
July 24, 19		Dk.	Central		RPO
Aug. 28, 19		44	Charlestown		Filed
Aug. 29, 19		Dk.	Central		Filed
Sept. 15, 19		Dk.	Central		Filed
Sept. 15, 19		Surrender Dk.	Central		2m HCSS, Prob. 3/14/23
Oct. 25, 19		Dk.	Central		Filed
Oct. 25, 19		Dk. Surrender	Central		2m HCSS. Prob. 4/25/33
Nov. 8, 19		Dk.	Central		Filed
Nov. 8, 19	922	Dk. Surrender	Central		2 mos. H. C.
Dec. 23, 19	)22	Dk.	Chelsea		60 days HC — appealed

Mar. 19, 1923	Dk.	Central	3m HCSS, Prob. 9/19/23
Mar. 20, 1923	Dk.	Central	Filed
Mar. 20, 1923	Surrender Dk.	Central	3 mos. H. C.
June 14, 1923	Dk.	Central	10 days Jail
July 9, 1923	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Aug. 6, 1923	4.6	Sup Ct 7/9	app 10 days jail
Sept. 4, 1923	Dk.	Central	S. F. S. S., Prob. 3/5/24
Sept. 9, 1923	44	Charlestown	RPO
Sept. 17, 1923	40	44	\$5 def.
Sept. 22, 1923	Surrender Dk.	Central	S. F. S. S., Prob. 3/19/24
Sept. 22, 1923	Dk.	Central	Filed
Sept. 24, 1923	Dk.	and the same of th	Default
	Dk.	Central 10/8	
Oct. 6, 1923 Oct. 6, 1923		Central 10/8	Filed
	Dk. Surrender	Central 10/8	State Farm SS. Prob. 4/2/24
Oct. 15, 1923	Dk.	Central	Filed
Oct. 15, 1923	Dk. Surrender	Central	State Farm
Jan. 15, 1924			cole expiring 10/14/24
Apr. 15, 1924	Dk.	Central 4/17	Filed
Apr. 25, 1924	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned to St. Farm
Aug. 25, 1924	Released on parole	from State Farm	
Aug. 29, 1924	Dk.	Newton	\$10 ss def.
Aug. 30, 1924	Dk.	Central	State Farm SS. Prob. 2/25/25
Sept. 13, 1924	Dk.	Central 9/15	Filed
Sept. 13, 1924	Surrender Dk.	Central 9/15	State Farm
Sept. 17, 1924	Default removed	Newton	\$10 9/24 default
Jan. 31, 1925	Released on parole		To expire 9/14/25.
Mar. 16, 1925	Dk.	Central	Prob. 9/16/25
	Dk.	Charlestown	2 mos HC
Mar. 28, 1925			
Mar. 28, 1925	Def rem	0/11/20	\$5 Filed
May 11, 1925	Dk.	Central	Filed
Aug. 12, 1925	Dk.	Central	5 days C.J.
Jan. 14, 1926	Dk.	Central	Filed
Jan. 18, 1926	Dk.	Central	10 days C.J.
Feb. 3, 1926	Dk.	Central	2mHCSS. Prob. 8/4/26
Feb. 12, 1926	Dk.	Central	Filed
Feb. 12, 1926	Surrender Dk.	Central	2 mos. H. C.
Mar. 24, 1926	Dk.	Central	6 days C. J.
Apr. 3, 1926	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Apr. 5, 1926	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	2 mos. Jail
May 6, 1926	Dk	Charlestown	2 mos HC
June 21, 1926	Dk.	Central	1 month H. C.
July 21, 1926	Dk.	Central	1m HCSS, Prob. 1/19/27
July 27, 1926	Dk.	Central	Filed
July 27, 1926	Dk. Surrender	Central	1 month H. C.
Aug. 26, 1926	Dk.	Central 8/30	Filed
Sept. 2, 1926	Dk.	Central	1 month C. J.
Sept. 16, 1926	Dk.	Central	Filed
Oct. 13, 1926	Dk.	Charlestown	2 months H. C.
Nov. 24, 1926	Dk	Central	Filed
Dec. 22, 1926	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Jan. 3, 1927	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Probation 6 months
Jan. 15, 1927	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
	Dk.		State Farm
Jan. 19, 1927	Dk.	Appeal withdrawn	3 months Jail
Feb. 8, 1927		Suffolk Superior	
Mar. 22, 1927	Released from jail.		Filed. Delivered parole officer
Mar. 26, 1927	Dk.	Central 5/22	
May 19, 1927	Dk.	Central 5/23	6mHCSS, Prob. 11/23/27
May 24, 1927	Dk.	Central	Filed
May 24, 1927	Surrender Dk.	Central	1 month H. C.
June 25, 1927	Dk.	Central 6/27	State Farm, Appealed
July 7, 1927	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	State Farm
Oct. 5, 1927	Released on parole		Expires 7/4/28
Oct. 17, 1927	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned S. F.
Feb. 17, 1928	Released on parole	from State Farm	Expires 7/16/28

Mar. 10, 1928	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned S. F.
July 25, 1928	Released on parole		Expires 8/9/28
Aug. 3, 1928	Dk.	Central	5 days C. J.
Aug. 9, 1928	Dk.	Central	S. F., Appealed
Sept. 4, 1928	Dk	Suf Sup 8/9	1 month jail
Oct. 4, 1928	Dk.	Central	S. F. S. S., Prob. 10/2/29
	Dk.	Central	Filed
Oct. 17, 1928			
Oct. 17, 1928	Surrender Dk.	Central	State Farm
Jan. 17, 1929	Released on parole	from State Farm.	
Jan. 18, 1929	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned S. F.
May 20, 1929	Released on parole	from State Farm.	Expires 10/17/29.
May 27, 1929	Vio City Ord	Quincy	\$5
July 10, 1929	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned S. F.
Dec. 4, 1929	Dk.	Central 10/10	6 days C. J.
Dec. 10, 1929	Dk.	Central 12/12	1m HCSS, Prob. 6/11/30
Dec. 13, 1929	Dk.	Central	Filed
Dec. 13, 1929	Surrender Dk.	Central	1 month C. J.
Mar. 1, 1930	Dk.	Central	1 month H. C.
Apr. 21, 1930	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
May 5, 1930			
June 17, 1930	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
July 7, 1930	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
Sept. 29, 1930	Dk.	Central	RPO
Oct. 2, 1930	Dk.	Central	5 days C. J.
Oct. 20, 1930	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
Nov. 3, 1930			
Nov. 19, 1930	Dk.	Central	2mHCSS, Prob. 5/20/31
Nov. 20, 1930	Dk.	Central	Filed
Nov. 20, 1930	Surrender Dk.	Central	2 mos. H. C.
Feb. 21, 1931	Dk.	Central	1 month H. C.
Mar. 30, 1931	Dk.	Central	1 month C. J.
	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Apr. 27, 1931			St. Fm Ap Nol prossed
May 4, 1931	Dk	Suf Sup	
May 14, 1931	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
June 1, 1931	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
June 6, 1931	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
July 6, 1931	Dk	Suf. Sup. 6/6	St. F. Ap. Nol prossed
July 13, 1931	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
July 15, 1951			
			Nol Prog'd
Aug. 3, 1931	Dk.	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 3, 1931 Aug. 7, 1931	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Aug. 3, 1931			State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd
Aug. 3, 1931 Aug. 7, 1931 Sept. 8, 1931	Dk.	Central	State Farm, Appealed
Aug. 3, 1931 Aug. 7, 1931 Sept. 8, 1931 Sept. 24, 1931	Dk. Dk. Dk.	Central Suffolk Superior Central	State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd
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Aug. 3, 1931 Aug. 7, 1931 Sept. 8, 1931 Oct. 5, 1931 Oct. 9, 1931 Oct. 15, 1931 Oct. 20, 1931 Nov. 23, 1931 Dec. 7, 1931 Mar. 12, 1932 Mar. 24, 1932 May 21, 1932 Aug. 3, 1932 Sept. 6, 1932 Sept. 10, 1932 Dec. 24, 1932 Dec. 24, 1932 Dec. 24, 1932 Dec. 27, 1932 Dec. 27, 1932 Dec. 28, 1933 June 15, 1933	Dk. Dk. Dk. Dk. Dk. Dk. Appeal withdrawn Dk.	Central Suffolk Superior Central Suffolk Superior Central	State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd 5 days C. J. 1 month H. C., Appealed 1 month H. C. State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd 3 days C. J. 1 month H. C., Appealed 5 days C. J. State Farm, Appealed Nol Pros'd 3mHCSS, Prob. 3/15/33 Filed 3mHCSS, Prob. ext. 6/24/33 Filed 3mHCSS, Prob. ext. 6/8/33 10 days C. J. 3mHCSS, Pr. ext. 6/8/33 10 days C. J.
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Jan. 2, 1935	Dk	Central	RPO
Mar. 29, 1935	6.6	6.6	44
Jan. 3, 1936	6.6	4.6	44
Jun. 17, 1936	44	16	44
Jun. 22, 1936	64	44	10 ds. Jail
Sep. 15, 1936	44	14	St. Farm ss Pr. 3-17-37
Feb. 13, 1938	64	Central	RPO
Jun. 16, 1938	Dk	44	RPO
Jul. 26, 1938	Dk	46	RPO
Sept. 20, 1938	Dk	*4	RPO
Dec. 28, 1938	Dk	44	2 mos. Jail ss Pr. 6-28-39. Dism
Sep. 2, 1939	Dk	Dorchester	Rel
Sep. 17, 1940	Dk	Central	RPO
Jan. 1, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
Jan. 2, 1942	Dk	Central	Rel.
Feb. 26, 1943	Dk	Central	RPO
Aug. 3, 1943	Dk	Central	RPO
Sep. 3, 1943	Dk	Central	RPO
Oct. 9, 1943	Dk	Central	RPO
Oct. 23, 1943	Dk	Central	St. Farm SS Prob. 4-18-44.
Jan. 24, 1944	Dk	Central	Filed
Jan, 24, 1944	Surr-Dk	Central	St. Farm SS Prob. 8-2-44.

Record complete to January 31, 1944.

## Hospitalization Record 42-Z.

Boston City Hospital, Out-Patient Department: — June 21, 1933. Neck muscle strain.

Long Island Hospital: -

Sept. 27, 1932 to Dec. 1, 1932. Fractured ribs; destitution.

Dec. 5, 1932 to May 13, 1933. Alcoholism; destitution.

May 16, 1933 to June 10, 1933. Same.

June 27, 1933 to Mar. 27, 1935. Same. On leave 13 times during this period.

Mar. 30, 1935 to Aug. 1, 1935. Acute alcoholism.

Aug. 6, 1935 to Nov. 30, 1935. Chronic alcoholism; destitution.

Dec. 2, 1935 to July 14, 1936. Chronic alcoholism; destitution; chronic bronchitis.

July 18, 1936 to Jan. 22, 1937. Alcoholism; destitution.

Jan. 25, 1937 to Mar. 26, 1938. Same plus deafness.

Mar. 30, 1938 to June 12, 1939. Same.

June 14, 1939 to Nov. 6, 1939. Same.

Nov. 9, 1939 to Oct. 3, 1942. Same.

92-Z MALE BORN JUL.7, 1892. CHART BY JUDGE J. T. ZOTTOLI												
		FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG		OCT		DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905		THIS	PERSO	N WAS	DRIN	KING	TRIED	D OFF	USING	HIS PE	NSION	
1906		STAT BUT 2	PERSO IQUOI E FAR 9 "NOL	M WH	ERE HE	COULT ET HIM	TRIED BUILT	UP WE	LL NE	S LEFT	OFHIM	
1907		HE WE	NT TO TUTIO	LONG	ISLAN	HOSP	ITAL F	OR "A	LCOH	LISM	" AND	
1908			10110									
1909												
1910												
1911												
1912												
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1914					•							R
1915												-
1916							R		\$10			F
	2M SC	P		3-	M H	C		3	MLH	C		-
1918	A			3M 55	3-M	H.C.					=	
1919				55						R	P	
1920			iii r	-						- 1	R ·	
1921		FF B		PLIH	20		5	F			FF	SF S
1922			THIN !	1.7/2/2							F	194
1923	11/1/3/3	11/15(/)	11344	7:17	F 33 5		」			R	-	M.
1924		7.55° E.	2711	R	186	TO P			F	0.4	W.Y.	-
	H.C	Р	F	F	6-M	H.	7		SF	SS	YTTILL	
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1927		200	SF A		3-M	H.C.	RF S	E	SF	F S	F.	
1928				S.F.		301,614	EKF A	ME/VOR	55	I-M	15	
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	R			임 동 S.C.I	SF NA	SF N A P	F		厘	SF N	= 1///0	题 R
	F	-M H	777777	6011	1/23.50	IM	THAI SEA	N 0	SFI	T-M	10/1/2	1. 4//
-	2 F	5F	7/////		(X.X.94) (1.757)	Ā		불 R	Ai	5 3	M H	V///
1937	77777	A SC	S.F		F		RET	TO.	S.E	ជ		LIX
1938		F	RET	TO	S.F.	SEIN					77/7/1	3/41
1939	A P	347771	₩ AM	부 동투 N	VIIIII	FAF	SF			2 1/3	1977X/	ā
1940				R等号	XXX	EAR 30	A	Z F			e N.	
1941		- 1////	777773		XXXXX	R R R	M PH	-	SF N A P		5 P 15	R
1942		1		F	M SF	PA	부	F	M S	FD	3 3	I-M IA
1943	20	23	(X4/X)		R	10 15						
1944			NAN A	34/2								

## PERSONAL CHART 92-Z.

## Penological Record.

Male; born in 1892; lived under eight different aliases in six different places in low-cost living areas in Boston.

D 01 1014	D	Rox.	RPO
Dec. 21, 1914	Drunk	1102.	Rel.
July 5, 1916	44		
Sept. 9, 1916		W. Rox.	Fined \$10.
Dec. 27, 1916	4.6	Central	Filed
Jan. 11, 1917	44	W. Rox.	2 mos. HC — App.
Feb. 15, 1917	4.4	Suf. Sup.	Prob
Apr. 6, 1917	4.4	W. Rox.	3 mos. HC
Aug. 6, 1917	44	66	3 mos. HC — Com.
Apr. 20, 1918	6.6	11	3 mos. HC ss. 7-5-1918
Apr. 25, 1918	Susp. revoked	44	3 mos. HC Com.
	Drunk	it	Filed
Apr. 25, 1918	Dk	Central	RPO
Oct. 25, 1919		Central 16	Prob 5-12-20
Nov. 13, 1919	Dk	41	
Mar. 19, 1920	Surr	44	10 days CJ
Mar. 19, 1920	Dk	"	Filed
Nov. 2, 1920	Dk		RPO
Feb. 14, 1921	Dk	4.6	Filed
Feb. 18, 1921	Dk	44	Filed
Apr. 6, 1921	Dk	11	Prob 10-5-21
May 28, 1921	Dk	44	Filed
May 28, 1921	Surr-Dk-	**	Prob 11-23-21
	Dk	Roxbury	State Farm
Jun. 6, 1921		Central	Filed
Nov. 11, 1921	Dk	Central	Filed
Nov. 11, 1921	Surr-Dk	16	SF SS Prob 6-21-22-Def.
Dec. 24, 1921	Vagrant	11	
Nov. 20, 1922	Dk		Filed
May 9, 1923	Dk	**	Filed
May 21, 1923	Dk	4.4	3 days Jail
Jun. 26, 1923	Dk	6.6	10 days HC
Jul. 17, 1923	Dk	44	15 days HC
Oct. 30, 1923	Dk	*1	RPO
Nov. 14, 1923	Dk	**	Filed
	Dk	64	1 Mo HC
Nov. 19, 1923	Dk	11	RPO
Apr. 10, 1924		**	10 days HC
May 31, 1924	Dk	**	Prob 12-10-24
Jun. 11, 1924	Dk		2 Mo HCSS Pr 9-23-25
Oct. 1, 1924	Surr-Dk		
Oct. 1, 1924	Dk	16	Filed
Dec. 13, 1924	Dk		Filed
Dec. 13, 1924	Surr-Dk	4.6	2 Mo HC
Feb. 17, 1925	Dk	4.6	Prob 8-19-25
Mar. 21, 1925	Dk	44	Filed
Apr. 21, 1925	Dk	4.6	Filed
Apr. 21, 1925	Surr-Dk	**	6 Mo HC
	Dk	44	St. Farm-App
	Dk	44	1 Mo HC
Dec. 16, 1925	Dk	4.4	RPO
Jul. 25, 1926		W. Roxbury	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Jul. 28, 1926	Dk	W. Rozbury	\$15 SF Prob.
May 16, 1927	Dk		
Jun. 6, 1927	Dk	Central	20 days CJ
May 8, 1927	Dk		RPO
Aug. 6, 1927	Dk	West Roxbury	\$15 Com
Oct. 20, 1927	Dk	Central	3 days CJ
Oct. 31, 1927	Dk	44	1 Mo HC
Dec. 3, 1927	Dk	4.6	1 Mo CJ
Feb. 8, 1928	Dk	6.6	2 Mo HC
200. 0, 1020			

Mar. 24, 1928   Dk				
Apr. 2, 1928    Dik	Mar. 24, 1928	Dk	Roxbury	St. Farm-App
Jul. 12, 1928   Dk	Apr. 2, 1928	Dk		
Sep. 25, 1928	Jul. 12, 1928	Dk		
Sep. 25, 1928   Dk	Jul. 7, 1928	Dk	4.6	Filed
Sep. 25, 1928	Jul. 12, 1928	Dk	6.6	St. Farm-App
Oct.         3, 1928         Dk         "         Filed State Farm           Jan.         3, 1928         Rel. on parole from SF. Exp 10-2-29         Filed-Ret. St. Farm           Jan.         24, 1929         Rel. on parole from SF. Exp 10-23-29         Filed-Ret. St. Farm           Oct.         2, 1929         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Nov.         12, 1929         Dk         "RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         "RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         "Gays CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         "Gays CJ           Jul.         21, 1930         Dk         "Gays CJ           Nov.         3, 1930         Dk         "Gays CJ           Apr.         8, 1931         Dk         "Gays CJ <td>Sep. 25, 1928</td> <td>Dk</td> <td>4.6</td> <td></td>	Sep. 25, 1928	Dk	4.6	
Oot.         3, 1928         Surr-Dk         "         State Farm           Jan.         24, 1929         Dk         Central         Filed-Ret. St. Farm           May 24, 1929         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Nov.         12, 1929         Dk         "         RPO           Jun.         2, 1930         Dk         "         RPO           Jun.         22, 1930         Dk         "         RPO           Jun.         21, 1930         Dk         "         10 days CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         "         10 days CJ           Jul.         1, 1930         Dk         "         10 days CJ           Jul.         1, 1930         Dk         "         1 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         "         1 Mo CJ           Sep.         13, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Dec.         31, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Jan.         8, 1932         Dk         "         RPO           Jan.         8, 1932         Dk	Oct. 3, 1928	Dk	41	
Jan. 24, 1929 Jan. 24, 1929 Jan. 24, 1929 Jan. 24, 1929 Rel. on parole from SF. Exp 10-23-29 Cet. 2, 1929 Cet. 2, 1929 Dk Central John 10-2-29 Cet. 2, 1929 Joh Nov. 12, 1929 Joh Jun. 22, 1930 Joh Jun. 24, 1930 Joh Jun. 24, 1930 Joh Jun. 24, 1930 Joh Jul. 5, 1930 Joh Jul. 21, 1930 Joh Jul. 21, 1930 Joh Joh Jul. 21, 1930 Joh Sep. 8, 1930 Joh Nov. 3, 1930 Dk Central Joh Nov. 13, 1930 Joh Nov. 3, 1930 Dk Central Joh Nov. 16, 1931 Joh Joh Jan. 4, 1932 Joh Jan. 4, 1932 Joh Jan. 4, 1932 Joh Jan. 7, 1932 Joh Jan. 7, 1932 Joh	Oct. 3, 1928	Surr-Dk	4.6	
Dan. 24, 1929   Dk	Jan. 3, 1929	Rel. on parole from SI	F. Exp 10-2-29	
May 24, 1929         Rel. on parole from SF. Exp 10-23-29         Central         1 Mo HC           Nov. 12, 1929         Dk         " 15 days HC           Jan. 2, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Jun. 22, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Jun. 24, 1930         Dk         " 5 days CJ           Jul. 1, 1930         Dk         " 10 days CJ           Jul. 21, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo CJ           Sep. 8, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Oct. 10, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Sep. 3, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Ov. 3, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Apr. 8, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Sep. 13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov. 16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan. 4, 1932         Dk         " Filed           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           May 2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Ma				Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Oct.         2, 1929         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Nov. 12, 1929         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         2, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         " 10 days CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Oct.         10, 1930         Dk         " St. Farm-App           Nov.         3, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Oet.         10, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Nov.         1, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Dec.         31, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Dec.         13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         8, 1932         Dk         " Nol Prosd           Mar.				2 1104 2000, DO. 2 MINE
Nov. 12, 1929   Dk			_	1 Mo HC
Jan.         2, 1930         Dk         " RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         " Sdays CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         " Jo days CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         " Jo days CJ           Jul.         21, 1930         Dk         " Jo days CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         " Jo days CJ           Nov.         1, 1930         Dk         " St. Farm—App           Nov.         1, 1930         Dk         " St. Farm—App           Nov.         1, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Sep.         13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         1, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         1, 1932         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         1, 1932         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         1, 1932         Dk         " RPO           Mar.         2, 1932         Dk         " Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           May         2, 1932         Dk				
Jun.         22, 1930         Dk         "         RPO           Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         "         5 days CJ           Jul.         21, 1930         Dk         "         10 days CJ           Jul.         21, 1930         Dk         "         11 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Oct.         10, 1930         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Nov.         3, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Apr.         8, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         "         I Mo HC           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         "         I Mo HC           Jan.         19, 1932         Dk         Central			6.5	
Jun.         24, 1930         Dk         " Jo days CJ           Jul.         5, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         " 1 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         " St. Farm-App           Nov.         3, 1930         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr.         8, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Sep.         13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar.         7, 1932         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr.         18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm-App           May         10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May         10, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HCS           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk			6.6	
Jul.         5, 1930         Dk          10 days CJ           Jul.         21, 1930         Dk          1 Mo CJ           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk          1 Mo HC           Sep.         8, 1930         Dk          St. Farm-App           Nov.         3, 1930         Dk          RPO           Sep.         13, 1931         Dk          RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk          RPO           Dec.         31, 1931         Dk          RPO           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk          Filed           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk          Filed           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk          RPO           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk          1 Mo HC           Jan.         8, 1932         Dk          1 Mo HC           Jan.         18, 1932         Dk          1 Mo HC           Jan.         19, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar.         21, 1933         D			b.6	
Jul. 21, 1930   Dk			6.6	
Sep.         8, 1930         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Oct.         10, 1930         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Nov.         3, 1930         Dk         Central         On File           Sep.         13, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Nov.         16, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Dec.         31, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Jam.         4, 1932         Dk         "         Filed           Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Mar.         3, 1932         Dk         "         1 Mo HC App           Mar.         7, 1932         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           May.         2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May.         2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May.         2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar.         2, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34 <td< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>8.6</td><td></td></td<>			8.6	
Oct. 10, 1930         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Nov. 3, 1930         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr. 8, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Sep. 13, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Nov. 16, 1931         Dk         "         RPO           Jan. 4, 1932         Dk         "         RPO           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         "         3 Mo HC App           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Mar. 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm-App           May 2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 23, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Sep. 2, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm-App <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td>6.</td><td></td></t<>			6.	
Nov. 3, 1930   Dk-App   Dk   Central   On File				
Apr. 8, 1931         Dk         Central         On File           Sep. 13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov. 16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Dec. 31, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk         " 3 Mo HC App           Mar. 18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May 2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 23, 1933         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         " 1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk         " 8t. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Surr-Dk         " 8t. Farm-App           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Sept. 2,			Suff Sun	
Sep. 13, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Nov. 16, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Dec. 31, 1931         Dk         " RPO           Jan. 4, 1932         Dk         " Filed           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr. 18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May 19, 1932         Dk         Central         1 days CJ           May 19, 1932         Dk         Central         1 down HC           May 23, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         " 1 Mo HC         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         " 8t. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         " RPO           Sep. 2, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Apr. 21, 1934         Dk         " RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         " RPO				
Nov. 16, 1931         Dk          RPO           Dec. 31, 1931         Dk          RPO           Jan. 4, 1932         Dk          Filed           Jan. 8, 1932         Dk          1 Mo HC           Mar. 3, 1932         Dk          3 Mo HC App           Mar. 7, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May 2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk          1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk          1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk          3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk          3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn          St. Farm—App           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn          RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk          RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk          RPO<				
Dec. 31, 1931			10	
Jan.         4, 1932         Dk         "         Filed           Jan.         8, 1932         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Mar.         3, 1932         Dk         "         3 Mo HC App           Mar.         7, 1932         Dk-App         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr.         18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May         20, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May         23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         8t. Farm-App           Apr.         29, 1933         Sur-Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO </td <td></td> <td></td> <td>**</td> <td></td>			**	
Jan.         8, 1932         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Mar.         3, 1932         Dk         "         3 Mo HC App           Mar.         7, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May         2, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May         1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr.         27, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm—App           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         RPO           Apr.         29, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Aug.         14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO			4.4	
Mar.         3, 1932         Dk         "         3 Mo HC App           Mar.         7, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           Apr.         18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May         10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May         20, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm—App           Apr.         29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         "         Filed           Apr.         29, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Sep.         2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Sep.         2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO			**	
Mar. 7, 1932   Dk-App   Suff, Sup.   Nol Prosd			4.	
Apr. 18, 1932         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May 2, 1932         Dk         Suff, Sup.         Nol Prosd           May 10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           May 23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         "         Filed           Apr. 29, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Aug. 14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Aug. 14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 2, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 22, 1934         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr. 2, 1934         Dk         Central         St. Farm—App           May 19, 1934				
May         2, 1932         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           May         10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar.         23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar.         21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar.         22, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr.         27, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Apr.         29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         RPO           Sep.         2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Aug.         14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul.         13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Mar.         1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar.         1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar.         1, 1934				
May         10, 1932         Dk         Central         10 days CJ           Mar         23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 27, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         3 Mo HC           Sep. 2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 2, 1934         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr. 4, 1934         D				
May 23, 1932         Dk         Central         1 Mo HC           Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         " 1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         " 3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Surr-Dk         " 1 Mo HC           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk         " St. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         " Filed           Apr. 29, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Aug. 14, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Sept. 2, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Sept. 2, 1933         Dk         " RPO           Mar. 14, 1934         Dk         " RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         " RPO           Mar. 22, 1934         Dk         " RPO           Mar. 22, 1934         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Apr. 4, 1934         Dk         Central         St. Farm-App           May 7, 1934         Dk         Central         St. Farm — App.           May 19, 1934         " Central         St. Farm — App.           June 15, 1934         " Central				
Mar. 21, 1933         Dk         "         1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Dk         "         3 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34           Mar. 22, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         1 Mo HC           Apr. 27, 1933         Dk         "         St. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Appeal Withdrawn         "         St. Farm-App           Apr. 29, 1933         Surr-Dk         "         3 Mo HC           Sep. 2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Jul. 13, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Aug. 14, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Sept. 2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Sept. 2, 1933         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 14, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 1, 1934         Dk         "         RPO           Mar. 21, 1934         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Nol Prosd           Mar. 22, 1934         Dk         Central         St. Farm-App           May 7, 1934         Drunk         Suffolk Superior         Nol Pros'd.           May 19, 1934         "         Central         St. Farm — App.           J				
Mar. 22, 1933 Dk " 1 Mo HCSS Pr 3-14-34  Mar. 22, 1933 Surr-Dk " 1 Mo HC  Apr. 27, 1933 Dk " 5t. Farm-App  Apr. 29, 1933 Appeal Withdrawn " Filed  Apr. 29, 1933 Surr-Dk " 3 Mo HC  Sep. 2, 1933 Dk " RPO  Jul. 13, 1933 Dk " RPO  Jul. 13, 1933 Dk " RPO  Jul. 13, 1933 Dk " RPO  Jan. 10, 1934 Dk " RPO  Mar. 1, 1934 Dk " RPO  Mar. 1, 1934 Dk " RPO  Mar. 22, 1934 Dk Suff. Sup. Nol Prosd  Mar. 22, 1934 Dk Suff. Sup. Nol Prosd  Apr. 2, 1934 Dk Central St. Farm-App  May 7, 1934 Drunk Suffolk Superior Nol Pros'd.  May 19, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  May 19, 1934 " Suffolk Superior Nol Pros'd.  June 15, 1934 " Suffolk Superior Nol Pros'd.  Sept. 15, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  July 2, 1934 " Suffolk Superior Nol Pros'd.  Sept. 15, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  July 2, 1934 " Suffolk Superior Nol Pros'd.  Sept. 15, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central St. Farm — App.  Nov. 5, 1934 " Central On File  Jan. 7, 1935 Prunk Central On File  Jan. 19, 1935 Rel. on parole. Expires  Apr. 17, 1935 Drunk " St. Farm — App.				
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Mar. 19, 1935 Rel. on parole. Expires  Apr. 17, 1935 Drunk St. Farm — App.				
Apr. 17, 1935 Drunk "St. Farm — App.				2 mos. H. C.
Apr. 11, 1955 Dittink 50. Faith — App.				G. E.
May 6, 1935 Suff. Sup. Filed				
	May 6, 1935	"	Sun. Sup.	Filed .

July 22, 1935	Drunk	Central	5 days Com. Jail
July 31, 1935	4.6	44	10 days Jail
Aug. 23, 1935		44	10 days Com. Jail
Oct. 7, 1935	4.6	4.6	1 mo. H. C.
Jan. 7, 1936	**	**	RPO
Jan. 10, 1936	4.4	14	On File
Apr. 17, 1936	6.6	" 4/1	18 Filed
Apr. 30, 1936	4.6	44	1 mo. H. C.
June 16, 1936	64	44	1 mo. HC — App.
July 18, 1936	44	44	St. Farm — App.
Aug. 3, 1936	44	Suff. Sup.	Nol Prossed
Aug. 11, 1936	4.6	Rox.	Rel.
Sept. 15, 1936	44	Central	St. Farm App.
Oct. 5, 1936	6.6	Suf. Sup.	Nol Prossed
Oct. 10, 1936	4.4	Central	5 days Com. Jail
Oct. 20, 1936	4.6	11	3 mos. HC
Jan 8, 1937	44	44	1 mo. HC.
Feb. 24, 1937	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Mar. 2, 1937	Dk	Suff. Sup.	St. Farm
Apr. 14, 1937	Paroled, to exp. 3-1-3		Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Jun. 8, 1937	Dk	Central	Theu, Net. St. Paim
Nov. 26, 1937	Paroled, to exp. 4-25-		Filed
Feb. 19, 1938	Dk	Central	rned
	Parole revoked	00	
Jul. 2, 1938	Paroled, to exp. 7-18-		F 3. T. 22
Jul. 15, 1938	Dk	Central	5 days. Jail
Sep. 16, 1938	Dk	E. Boston	Rel.
Jan. 2, 1939	Dk	Central	RPO
Jan. 19, 1939	Dk	Central	5 days CJ
Mar. 6, 1939	Dk	Centra l	10 days CJ
Mar. 22, 1939	Dk	Central	3 Mos HC App
Apr. 3, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 26, 1939	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
May 1, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jun. 10, 1939	Dk	Central	Filed
Jun. 19, 1939	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Jul. 5, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 11, 1940	Dk	Central	RPO
Apr. 16, 1940	Dk	Central 4-2	20 St. Farm App
May 6, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jun. 10, 1940	Larceny	Greenfield	30 days HC Com
Jul. 15, 1940	Dk	Central .	St. Farm App
Aug. 5, 1940	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 10, 1940	Dk	Charlestown	\$15 Com
Aug. 21, 1940	Rel. on parole HC to		
Aug. 27, 1940	Dk	Central	Discharged
Sep. 14, 1940	Dk	Central	\$5 SF-Rem. & Filed
Jun. 5, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
Jun. 7, 1941	Dk	Central	Filed-Sent to BCH
Jun. 16, 1941	Dk	Cambridge	Rel
Jul. 5, 1941	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Jul. 7, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
	Dk	Central	10 days CJ
		Cambridge	\$20 Com
Jul. 21, 1941	Trespassing RR		St. Farm App
Sep. 4, 1941	Dk	Central	Nol Pros'd
Oct. 7, 1941	Dk Dl-	Suff. Sup	10 days CJ
Oct. 8, 1941	Dk	Central	15 days HC
Oct. 27, 1941	Dk	Central	
Nov. 19, 1941	Dk	Central	\$15 App
Dec. 1, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Dec. 7, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
Apr. 6, 1942	Dk	Central	Prob. 10-7-42
Apr. 16, 1942	Dk	Central	Filed
Apr. 16, 1942	Surr-Dk	Central	1 Month HC

Jun. 19, 1942	Dk	Central	5 days CJ
Jun. 30, 1942	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Jul. 6, 1942	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jul. 9, 1942	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Aug. 3, 1942	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 17, 1942	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Aug. 17, 1942	PDW-Vagrant-(1921)	Central	Filed
Oct. 6, 1942	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Nov. 6, 1942	Dk	Suff. Sup	Def.
Nov. 7, 1942	Dk	Central	3 days CJ
Nov. 17, 1942	Dk	Central	2 Mos HC App
Nov. 23, 1942	CDW-Dk	Suff. Sup	1 Mo CJ
Dec. 8, 1942	Dk	Suff. Sup. 12-29	On File
Dec. 28, 1942	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Jan. 4, 1943	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jan. 7, 1943	Dk	Central	20 days CJ
Feb. 9, 1943	Dk	Central	23 days HC
May 16, 1943	Dk	West Roxbury	RPO
Jun. 1, 1943	Dk	Central	10 days CJ
Jun. 16, 1943	Dk	Central	15 days HC

## Record complete to January 31, 1944.

#### Hospitalization Record.

Boston City Hospital: —

Dec. 11, 1921 to Dec. 14, 1921. Acute alcoholism.

Jan. 4, 1922 to Jan. 6, 1922. Alcoholism; lacerated scalp and face.

Oct. 17, 1923 to Oct. 22, 1923. Acute alcoholism.

Oct. 23, 1923 to Oct. 27, 1923. Same.

Apr. 25, 1924 to Apr. 27, 1924. Same. Boston City Hospital — Out-Patient Department: —

Nov. 17, 1930. Abrasion, right hand.

Sept. 30, 1932. Gerumenosis.

Apr. 24, 1933. Lacerated finger.

Long Island Hospital: -

Feb. 23, 1921 to Mar. 25, 1921. General debility.

Apr. 10, 1921 to May 26, 1921. No disease.

Dec. 18, 1922 to June 16, 1923. Acute alcoholism.

Nov. 5, 1924 to Dec. 9, 1924. Same.

Jan. 13, 1930 to Feb. 28, 1930. Same.

Aug. 27, 1930 to Sept. 2, 1930. Debility.

Nov. 15, 1930 to Jan. 9, 1931. Alcoholism.

Mar. 16, 1931 to Apr. 1, 1931. Same.

Sept. 21, 1931 to Oct. 26, 1931. Destitution.

Nov. 19, 1931 to Dec. 12, 1931. Ulcer, right hand.

Mar. 11, 1932 to Apr. 15, 1932. Chronic alcoholism.

Aug. 19, 1932 to Aug. 30, 1932. Destitution.

Sept. 6, 1932 to Sept. 30, 1932. Alcoholism; destitution.

July 24, 1933 to Aug. 28, 1933. Same.

Sept. 5, 1933 to Jan. 8, 1934. Destitution.

Jan. 11, 1934 to Feb. 15, 1934. Same

Long Island Hospital — Con.

Nov. 12, 1935 to Apr. 12, 1936. Destitution; alcoholism; hypertension; varicose veins.

May 1, 1936 to May 29, 1936. Alcoholism.

May 20, 1937 to June 7, 1937. Destitution; chronic alcoholism.

Dec. 2, 1937 to Feb. 26, 1938. Same.

July 8, 1938 to July 11, 1938. Same.

Aug. 30, 1938 to Sept. 26, 1938. Same.

Dec. 13, 1938 to Jan. 14, 1939. Same.

Jan. 26, 1939 to Mar. 3, 1939. Same.

June 3, 1939 to June 5, 1939. Same.

July 12, 1939 to Sept 11, 1939. Same.

Sept. 21, 1939 to Oct. 9, 1939. Same.

Oct. 14, 1940 to Dec. 2, 1940. Same.

May 10, 1941 to May 31, 1941. Same.

June 16, 1941 to June 18, 1941. Same.

Feb. 9, 1942 to Mar. 22, 1942. Same.

Mar. 29, 1943 to Apr. 25, 1943. Same. Oct. 25, 1943 to Nov. 14, 1943. Same.

Dec. 17, 1943 to Jan. 13, 1944. Same.

Feb. 28, 1944 to Apr. 15, 1944. Same.

YEAR	JAN	FEB				JUN			SEP	OCT		DE
1901												
1902												`
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1939		/W	ORCI				TATE		Hos	1717		
1940	4///			119	35	194			COSS	116	7060	10/
1941				4444				50	TOTAL	41 00	TURNI TIGHY	41
1942				444			5	SCAPE EPT 19,	942 3	EPT 21,	1942,	
1943	1//////	11/1/1/1	1/1///	11/1/1/	V13/1///	V/////	Y911/1/	V//////	1//////	V//////	1/////	Y///

#### PERSONAL CHART 30-Z.

## Penological Record.

Male; born in 1867; lived under nineteen different aliases; lived in sixteen different places in cheaper rooming houses in Boston, mostly in the South and West Ends.

May 12, 19			Central	RPO
Sept. 19, 19			+4	44
Sept. 25, 19			44	3 mos. HC
Jan. 20, 19			1.6	St. Farm
July 5, 19			64	On file
July 20, 19	910 "		14	St. Farm
Nov. 21, 19	010 "		44	4.6 4.4
Apr. 14, 19	)11 "		**	2 mos. HC
June 17, 19	11 "		66	St. Farm SS; pr. 12-13-11
Aug. 11, 19	)11 "		16	Filed
14 44 4	4. 46	Sur.	44	St. Farm
Nov. 21, 19	11 "		14	10 dys. HC
Jan. 26, 19	012		+4	St. Farm SS; pr. 1-24-12
Feb. 12, 19	112 "		4.6	St. Farm
June 3, 19	112 "		44	44
Jan. 25, 19			**	Prob. 7-23-13
Mar. 25, 19		Sur.	F1	1 m HC
May 17, 19			**	10 dys. CJ
June 23, 19			44	St. Farm SS; pr. 12-24-13
July 8, 19		Sur.	4.6	St. Farm SS; pr. 1-7-14 Filed
July 28, 19		- Cu	44	St. Farm
11 11 1			+4	Filed
Dec. 11, 19	113 "		44	Prob. 6-10-14
Dec. 20, 19		Sur.	11	1 mo. H C
11 11 1		Uu.	44	Filed
June 13, 19	114 "		**	Filed
July 27, 19			**	Filed
Aug. 18, 19			4.6	1 m HC
Dec. 3, 19			25- 66	Filed
Feb. 6, 19			**	2 mos. HC
			14	3 m HCSS; pr. 10-13-15
Apr. 7, 19 Apr. 28, 19			4.6	Filed
Apr. 20, 18		Sur.	4.6	3 mos. HC
Sept. 21, 19		Bur.	44	Rel.
			64	RPO
Oct. 11, 19			**	3 mos. HC
Dec. 3, 19	110			
Mar. 25, 19	710		44	St. Farm
Jun. 28, 19	910		6.6	2 mos. HC
Aug. 29, 19	110		44	1 mo. jail
Sept. 30, 19	910		14	Filed
Oct. 10, 19			6.6	1 mo. CJ
Nov. 10, 19	710			St. Farm SS; pr. 5-9-17
Nov. 13, 19			Central	Filed
		Sur.	4.6	St. Farm
Feb. 17, 19	114			2 mos. HC
Apr. 17, 19	117		**	1 mo. jail
May 24, 19	11.4		48	St. Farm
Aug. 25, 19	117		44	St. Farm SS; pr. 2-20-18
Aug. 31, 19	11.6	~	"	Filed
11 11 1		Sur.	44	St. Farm
Dec. 18, 19	11.7		44	6 m HCSS; pr. 6-19-18
Jan. 25, 19	18		**	Prob.
Mar. 16, 19	19		6.6	Filed
66 64 6		Sur.		Prob. 9-11-18

Apr. 16, 1918			
	DK Sur.	Central	6 mos. HC
44 44 44	44	6.6	Filed
Oct. 10, 1918	41	4.4	Filed
Oct. 18, 1918	41	44	Filed
Oct. 19, 1918	44	6	1 m HC
Nov. 30, 1918	14	44	St. Farm SS; pr. 5-28-19
Jan. 15, 1919	44	44	
,, ii, ii	41 (2,100	44	Filed
	" Sur.		Pr. ext. 7-16-19
Jan. 21, 1919		"	St. Farm
	**		Filed
Apr. 21, 1919		m on Parole; exp. Ja	an. 21, 1920
Apr. 22, 1919	DK 6	Central	20 dys. jail
Aug. 27, 1919	6.6	4.6	Pr 2-25-20 Dism.
May 3, 1920	4.6	44	Rel.
May 24, 1920	£6	44	Prob. 11-24-20
June 21, 1920	" Sur.	44	1 m HCSS; pr. 12-22-20
44 48 46	44	14	Filed
Oct. 22, 1920	41 44	44	Prob. 4-20-21
11 11 11	4.6	44	Filed
	41 41	44	
Dec. 13, 1920	44	**	Prob. 6-15-21
	11 11	44	Filed
Mar. 15, 1921			1 m HCSS
64 66 46	44	44	Filed
Apr. 15, 1921	44	64	10 dys, jail
Apr. 26, 1921	44	4.1	St. Farm; ap.
Aug. 2, 1921	46	64	St. Farm SS; pr. 2-1-22
Aug. 9, 1921	44 44	44	Prob. 2-15-22
Aug. 9, 1921	4.6	4.4	Filed
Aug. 30, 1921	44	11	44
11 11 11	41 44	41	St. Farm
Nov. 30, 1921	Dol to St To	rm on navalo. Evn (	
		rm on parole; Exp. 8	
Dec. 1, 1921	DK		Filed: ret. St. Farm
Apr. 1, 1922		rm on Parole; exp. 8	
Apr. 3, 1922	DK	44	10 dys. Jail
Apr. 25, 1923	4.6		St. Farm SS; pr. 10-24-23
June 21, 1923	4.6	4.6	Filed
44 44 44	" Sur.	44	St. Farm SS; pr. 12-19-23
Aug. 13, 1923	DK	44	Filed
40 44 44	" Sur.	4	St. Farm
Nov. 13, 1923	Rel. fr. St. Fa	rm; Parole exp. Aug	. 12, 1924
Mar. 25, 1924	DK		
			3 dvs. iail
	4.6	41	3 dys. jail
Apr. 7, 1924	44	44 66	10 dys. jail
Apr. 21, 1924	66	64	10 dys. jail St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924	" Rel. fr. St. Fa		10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924	Rel. fr. St. Fa	" rm; Parole exp. Jan.	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924	Rel. fr. St. Fa	rm; Parole exp. Jan.	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK	", Parole exp. Jan. " " Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan. " Central from St. Farm; to e	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan Central from St. Farm; to e Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan. " Central from St. Farm; to e	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Sept. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan Central from St. Farm; to e Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK On parole; to	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm xpire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK On parole; to DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  " Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK On parole; to DK DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK DK A & B	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to es Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  ""	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm xpire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK On parole; to DK OK DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  "" ""	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole DK Com parole; to DK DK DK DK DK DK DK A & B Sur. DK DK	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  " Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to er Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central " " " " " "	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926 May 3, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK DK DK DK DK DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  " " fr. State Farm; Par	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm expire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm  RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm . exp. 2-1-27
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to ex Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  fr. State Farm; Par Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm spire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm . exp. 2-1-27 Filed; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926 May 3, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to e Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  fr. State Farm; Par Central to expire Feb. 8, 192	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm xpire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm  RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm .exp. 2-1-27 Filed; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926 May 3, 1926 May 10, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  " Central from St. Farm; to experiment of the central fr. State Farm; to experiment of the central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  " fr. State Farm; Par Central to expire Feb. 8, 192 Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm spire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm . exp. 2-1-27 Filed; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926 May 3, 1926 May 10, 1926 Sept. 10, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  Central from St. Farm; to e Central fr. State Farm; to e Central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  fr. State Farm; Par Central to expire Feb. 8, 192	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm spire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm . exp. 2-1-27 Filed; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 21, 1924 Aug. 22, 1924 Sept. 2, 1924 Sept. 25, 1924 Sept. 15, 1924 Jan. 31, 1925 Feb. 2, 1925 May 4, 1925 May 26, 1935 Sept. 22, 1925 Oct. 18, 1925 Oct. 27, 1925 Oct. 29, 1925 Feb. 1, 1926 May 3, 1926 May 10, 1926 Sept. 10, 1926 Oct. 16, 1926	Rel. fr. St. Fa DK " DK Rel. on parole DK Rel on parole; to DK On parole; to DK A & B Sur. DK DK Rel. on parole	rm; Parole exp. Jan.  " Central from St. Farm; to experiment of the central fr. State Farm; to experiment of the central expire Oct. 6, 1925 Central  " fr. State Farm; Par Central to expire Feb. 8, 192 Central	10 dys. jail St. Farm 21, 1925 3 dys. jail 10 dys. jail St. Farm expire Oct. 14, 1925 File; ret. St. Farm spire 9-16-25 File; ret. St. Farm RPO Pr. 4-28-26 Filed 2 mos. HC 1 mo. HC St. Farm . exp. 2-1-27 Filed; ret. St. Farm

Mar. 7, 1927	DK	Central	Filed
44 44 44	Sur. DK	4.6	3 m HC
July 18, 1927	DK	4.4	1 mo jail
Aug. 19, 1927	DK	6.6	St. Farm
Nov. 21, 1927	Rel. on parole fr. S	St. Farm; Exp. 8-1	8-28
Dec. 3, 1927	DK	Central	Filed; ret. St. Farm
Apr. 3, 1928		St. Farm; exp. 8-30	
Apr. 6, 1928	DK	Central	Filed; ret. St. Farm
Aug. 20, 1928		St. Farm; exp. 8-2-	
Aug. 21, 1928	DK	Central	RPO
Aug. 28, 1928	DK	44	St. Farm SS; pr. 2-27-29
Aug. 30, 1928	DK	4.4	Filed
Aug. 30, 1928	Sur. DK	44	St. Farm
Nov. 30, 1928		Et Forme own 9 90	
Dec. 4, 1928	DK	St. Farm; exp. 8-29	
Apr. 4, 1929		Central	Filed; ret. St. Farm
	DK	St. Farm; exp. 9-3-	
May 2, 1929		Central	Filed; ret St. Farm
Sept. 17, 1929		St. Farm; Exp. 10-	
Sept. 21, 1929	DK	Central	10 dys. CJ
Oct. 14, 1929	DK		15 dys. CJ
Dec. 30, 1929	DK	44	Filed
Jan. 7, 1930	DK	Roxbury	1mo. jail
Feb. 7, 1930	DK	Central	4 dys. CJ
Feb. 17, 1930	DK	44	St. Farm; ap.
Mar. 3, 1930	DK	Suf. Sup.	1 mo. jail
Sept. 6, 1930	DK	Central	3 m HC; ap.
Oct. 6, 1930	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 6, 1931	DK	Cent.	Default
Apr. 8, 1931	DK DW	44	3 dys. jail
Apr. 13, 1931	DK	4.4	10 dys. CJ
May 14, 1931	DK	44	1 mo. CJ
June 15, 1931	DK	6.6	Prob. 12-16-31
June 17, 1931	DK	44	Def.
June 18, 1931	DK	4.6	Filed
June 18, 1931	DK DW	6.6	Filed
		6.6	
June 18, 1931	Sur. DK	4.6	2 m HC
Aug. 17, 1931	DK		St. Farm; ap.
Sept. 8, 1931	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Sept. 15, 1931	DK	Central	2 m HC
Nov. 23, 1931	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
Dec. 7, 1931	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Dec. 8, 1931	DK	Central	7 dys. CJ
Dec. 16, 1931	DK	4.4	St. Farm; ap.
Jan. 4, 1932	DK	Suf. Sup.	\$15.
Mar. 11, 1932	DK	Central	15 dys. HC
Mar. 29, 1932	DK	4.6	St. Farm; ap.
Apr. 11, 1932	DK	Suf. Sup.	File
Apr. 12, 1932	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
Aug. 1, 1932	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
May 11, 1932	DK	Central	2 m HC
July 11, 1932	DK	44	St. Farm; ap.
Sept. 6, 1932	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 4, 1932	DK	Cent.	St. Farm; ap.
Sept. 13, 1932	DK	11	3 m HC
Dec. 12, 1932	DK	4+	Def.
Dec. 13, 1932	DK	4.6	10 dys. HC
Dec. 24, 1932	DK	11	2 m HC
		4.6	
Mar. 8, 1933	DK	44	1 m HC
Apr. 8, 1933	DK	44	10 dys. CJ
June 2, 1933	DK		St. Farm; ap.
June 5, 1933	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Sept. 8, 1933	DK	Central	20 dys. CJ
Oct. 2, 1933	DK	**	1 m HC
Nov. 3, 1933	DK	14	St. Farm; ap.

Nov. 6, 1933	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Mar. 28, 1934	DK	Central	St. Farm
Apr. 2, 1934	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 3, 1934	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
May 7, 1934	DK	Suf. Sup.	2 m HC
July 12, 1934	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
Aug. 4, 1934	DK	Suf. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 10, 1934	DK	Central	1 m HC
Sept. 18, 1934	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
Oct. 1, 1934	DK	Suf. Sup.	2 m HC
Dec. 22, 1934	DK	Central	St. Farm; ap.
Jan. 7, 1935	DK	Suf. Sup.	1 mo. jail
Jul. 30, 1938	Dk	Central	3 ds. Jail

Record complete to January 27, 1944.

#### Hospitalization Record.

#### Tewksbury State Hospital:

June 23, 1914 to July 23, 1914. Cellulitis of neck.

Sept. 14, 1926 to Oct. 11, 1926. Alcoholism.

Nov. 9, 1933 to Mar. 26, 1934. Chronic myocarditis.

#### Boston State Hospital:

Feb. 8, 1935 to Feb. 12, 1935. Chronic alcoholic deterioration. Transferred to Worcester State Hospital.

#### Worcester State Hospital:

Feb. 12, 1935. On visit from hospital, Sept. 7, 1935 to Sept. 13, 1935. Escaped Oct. 14, 1941; returned Oct. 16, 1941. Escaped Sept. 19, 1942; returned Sept. 21, 1942.

Died Mar. 20, 1944.

YEAR	Z JAN			APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
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	HC.					R	1 1 1 1	R		1-10	N N	I-M A
1939	I-M	N P	R	FM HC		·	Z		I-M N	3 10	SF s.c.	
1940	_ A_	PA			본	MH	R	SF NO	1-M P 25 R	NIM	N N	8
	p SF	N SF	P HC	Й	P	EM S	벌	본	25R	WITHELD 1-	N SE	P <sup>4</sup> 5
1942	H C S	N SE	PA	E E		A	PA		E-A	A I A	FIT ME	11. 4
1942		PA	P									
1743							-					-

### PERSONAL CHART 350-Z.

# · Penological Record.

Male; born in 1888; lived under five different aliases in eight different places in comfortable living sections of Boston.

F-1 00 1004	Tot-	Control	Filed
Feb. 20, 1934	Dk Dk	Central	Rel. prob. officer
Jun. 22, 1935	Dk Dk	4.4	Rel. prob. officer
Oct. 7, 1935	Dk Dk	Dorchester	Released
Oct. 14, 1935	Dk	Central	Rel. prob. officer
Dec. 31, 1935		Central	Rel. prob. officer
Jan. 28, 1936	Dk	Central	1 mo. H.C.
Mar. 13, 1936	Dk	Ware	\$5.
Jun. 5, 1936	Dk	Ware	Filed
Jun. 8, 1936	Dk	Dorchester	Rel.
Jul. 14, 1936	Dk	Dorenester	Rel.
Aug. 25, 1936	Dk	4.6	Rel.
Oct. 24, 1936	Dk	4.6	Rel.
Nov. 18, 1936	Dk	Central	Rel. prob. officer
Dec. 4, 1936	Dk	Central	1 mo. H.C.
Dec. 18, 1936	Dk	4.6	1 mo. H.C.
Feb. 5, 1937	Dk	4.4	10 days Jail
Aug. 9, 1937	Dk	6.6	
Oct. 4, 1937	Dk	4.4	5 days Jail
Dec. 13, 1937	Dk	4.6	1 mo. H.C.
Jun. 4, 1938	Dk	4.6	Rel. prob. officer
Jun. 18, 1938	Dk	66	10 ds. Jail
Jul. 7, 1938	Dk	4.6	5 days Jail
Jul. 18, 1938	Dk	44	15 ds. H.C.
Sep. 9, 1938	Dk	44	Rel. prob. officer
Oct. 7, 1938	Dk	11	1 mo. H.C. app. 11-7-38 S.C. N.Pr.
Dec. 27, 1938	Dk	**	1 mo. H.C. app. 1-3-39 S.C. N.Pr.
Jan. 18, 1939	Dk		1 mo. H.C. app.
Feb. 6, 1939	Dk '	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Feb. 23, 1939	Dk	Central	3 days Jail
Mar. 12, 1939	Dk	44	Rel. prob. officer
Mar. 31, 1939	Dk	**	1 mo. H.C.
Jun. 27, 1939	Dk		1 mo. Jail app. 7-5-39 S.C. N.Pr.
Sep. 1, 1939	Dk		1 mo. H.C. app.
Sep. 6, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Oct. 3, 1939	Dk	Central	3 days Jail
Oct. 18, 1939	Dk	46	10 ds. Jail
Nov. 2, 1939	Dk		St. Farm app. 12-4-39 S.C. N.Pr.
Feb. 1, 1940	Drunk	Central	1 Mo. HC App.
Mar. 4, 1940	4.4	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Mar. 22, 1940	44	Central	1 Mo. HC App.
Apr. 1, 1940	44	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Apr. 13, 1940	8.6	Central	St. Farm App.
May 8, 1940	44	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
June 4, 1940	44	Central	1 Mo. HC
July 4, 1940	6.4	Central	RPO
Aug. 1, 1940	4.6	Central	St. Farm App.
Aug. 5, 1940	6.6	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 6, 1940	4.4	Central	10 days CJ
Aug. 29, 1940	6.6	Central	St. Farm App.
Sept. 3, 1940	"	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Sept. 14, 1940	44	Central	3 days CJ
Sept. 21, 1940	41	Central	1 Mo. HC App.
Oct. 7, 1940	44	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Oct. 10, 1940	66	Central	1 Mo. HC App.
Nov. 4, 1940	6.6	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd

Nov. 15, 1940	Drunk	Central	3 days CJ
Dec. 4, 1940	4.6	Central	St. Farm App.
Dec. 5, 1940	**	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Jan. 13, 1941	4.6	Dorchester	Rel.
Jan. 18, 1941	4.6	Central	St. Farm App.
Feb. 3, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Feb. 14, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Mar. 4, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Mar. 6, 1941	Dk	Central	2 Mos HC App
Apr. 14, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
June 11, 1941	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
June 18, 1941	Dk	Worcester	\$3 Paid
July 7, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Aug. 12, 1941	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Sept. 2, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Sept. 9, 1941	Speeding	Worcester	\$25 SF 11–26–Paid
Sept. 21, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
Sept. 23, 1941	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App — W.D.
DCD0. 20, 1041	DK	Central	Sent. Rev. — 1 Mo. CJ
Oct. 9, 1941	Dk	Control	
Oct. 9, 1941 Nov. 3, 1941	Dk Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
		Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Nov. 21, 1941	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Dec. 2, 1941	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Dec. 9, 1941	Dk	Central	\$5
Dec. 20, 1941	Dk	Central	1 Mo. CJ
Jan. 23, 1942	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Feb. 2, 1942	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd
Feb. 13, 1942	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Mar. 9, 1942	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Apr. 11, 1942	Dk	Central	5 days CJ
Apr. 22, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	State Farm appeal.
May 4, 1942	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
May 16, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	State Farm appeal
June 1, 1942	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
June 2, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	State Farm appeal
July 6, 1942	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
July 18, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	State Farm appeal
Aug. 3, 1942	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
Aug. 17, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	10 days Jail
Sep. 11, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	St. Farm ss Prob. 3-10-43
Sep. 25, 1942	Drunkenness	Central	Filed
Sep. 25, 1942	Surr (Dk of 9-11-42)	Central	State Farm
Nov. 3, 1942	Transferred to Norfolk	Prison Colony.	
Dec. 21, 1942	Released on parole, to	exp. 9-24-43	
Jan. 5, 1943	Drunkenness	Central	2 days Jail (Parole Bd. notified)
Apr. 12, 1943	Drunkenness	Central	Filed, Ret. State Farm
Aug. 12, 1943	Released on parole, to	expire 9-24-43.	
Aug. 14, 1943	Drunkenness	Central	Filed
Sep. 18, 1943	Drunkenness	Central	1 mo. H.C. appeal
Oct. 4, 1943	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
Oct. 7, 1943	Drunkenness	Central 10-8	State Farm appeal
Nov. 1, 1943	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
Nov. 6, 1943	Drunkenness	Dorchester	Rel. probation officer
Nov. 15, 1943	Drunkenness	Dorchester	Filed
Dec. 6, 1943	Drunkenness	Dorchester	Filed
May 28, 1944	Drunkenness	Central	Rel. probation officer
Oct. 11, 1944	Drunkenness	Central	5 days Jail
Oct. 19, 1944	Drunkenness	Central	\$10. appeal
Oct. 27, 1944	Drunkenness	Suffolk Superior	Nol prossed
Oct. 28, 1944	Drunkenness	Dorchester	Released
Jan. 10, 1945	Drunkenness	Central	5 days Jail
- W. 1010	2.4111(1111(00	00111141	o days ball

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It is clear that we must stop this maladministration of drunkenness cases if inebriety is to be checked. This means that resort must again be had to legislation which will forbid the nol-prossing of drunkenness cases, without the concurrence of a "regular" superior court judge. In justice to the Superior Court, it should be pointed out that the "filing" of common drunk cases is not of their doing, but rather is the action of judges temporarily called to sit in the misdemeanor sessions of the said court, who usually are found saying "me too" to whatever the district attorney recommends. It is high time for integrated, concerted action by all parties entrusted with the operation of the salvaging of the "penological machine." "The practice of entering a nolle prosequi to informations is very ancient, but to indictments it began in the latter end of the reign of Charles II, and was then much complained of. But when it is entered to a defective indictment on which no legal judgment can be entered there can be no cause to complain." (Commonwealth v. Wheeler, et al., 2 Mass. 172, 174 (1806).)

The doctrine was extended to all cases at a time when laymen and ministers were acting as judges. It was then beneficial in a large variety of cases, and still is so now. But when used as here shown, it is out of step with honest and faithful administration of justice, and the power should be curbed. We therefore recommend legislation restricting the power to nol-pros appeals of drunkenness cases to cases in which a justice of the Superior Court concurs to such action.

## Chapter XV.

THE THEORY ADVOCATING THE "LETTING DOWN OF PRESENT PUNITIVE BARS" IN DRUNKENNESS CASES IS UNSOUND.

If one should literally view what some of the authorities have said with reference to the inefficacy of the "release," "filing," "probation," "long and short" sentencing he might conclude that all laws concerning the arrest and commitment of inebriates are of little value, and therefore might just as well be scrapped.

But is such reasoning sound? We have already demonstrated that even under the present system probation and filing have value. There are other reasons why expressions of opinion of the nature above referred to should be carefully qualified and limited. Let us view the matter more closely.

While it is true that release, filing, probation, fining and imprisonment will not stop the inebriate from continuing his course to final ruin and collapse, it does not follow that existing laws, intended to check this evil before it has reached an irreversible state, are useless and barren of beneficial results. We have already shown that even the short sentence may be useful as a "sobering medium" in a process of salvaging what can be salvaged in the inebriate stage where "spree drinking" takes place; and that long sentences also have value. But there is a more fundamental error in the generalizations we have been reviewing. They fail to observe that most all beneficial laws are violated by some members of society. This has been so since the days of Adam and Eve, and probably will continue to be so while human beings are what they are. It does not follow that because some people violate a law, others are not retarded in doing so by the penalties it imposes for its infraction. Nor does it follow that because about twenty thousand inebriates in Massachusetts violate laws intended to keep them sober, the remaining three million and odd thousand persons above the age of fourteen years who do remain temperate are not beneficially affected by the thought of what can happen to them if they should transgress laws which they as good citizens are required to observe. We have counted the number of times people have been arrested for drunkenness in our State, and probably can estimate approximately the number of inebriates that are in our midst. But who

has counted or can count or even estimate the number of our citizens who are, at least in part, restrained by the thought of what can happen to them if they should be caught violating the law? Does not experience teach us that there are human beings who would violate all laws, whether made by God or man, if they thought they could do so with impunity; that there are others who feel they are doing their full duty to mankind if they keep within man-made laws; and still others who observe the laws of God and man, whether or not man-made laws require it? Does anybody know how many are in the two classes first mentioned?

However, we venture to say that there are more people who observe even man-made laws than there are of those who violate them. This is more especially so, if public opinion dictates that the law is a just law. It is a fact that most of our citizens are law-abiding, sober and industrious people. Our system has merit, and is effective, though not as effective as it can be when more perfected. It cannot be repeated too often that the serious fault lies in the fact that it does not begin to operate early enough. Intemperance must be checked before, not after, addiction has taken place. Our system must be changed in which this result is possible of attainment. We have now reached a sort of penological impasse. The system we are working under is doing what should be expected of it. This is clearly seen from the penological and sociological charts which are appended to this report.

The fundamental reason why neither short-term imprisonment or long-term imprisonment does not entirely solve the problem is that they do not prevent the human wreckage that alcohol causes to that part of the social stream that refuses to obey the dictates of either the moral law or statute law. Imprisonment now is looked upon as a means for reformation and salvaging. When viewed from the standpoint of the offender, it is successful when the salvaging processes deal with material that can be salvaged. The trouble in the case of the alcoholic is, that it tries to salvage after irreparable injury is sustained by the drunkard; then it is too late for success, because science does not yet know any remedy which will cure absolutely when that stage is reached.

We agree with the observation made by Jerome Hall, Sc.D., professor of law, Indiana University Law School, in 1941, to the effect that "The futility of punitive methods applied to chronic alcoholic psychopaths is apparent. To many observers of the endless stream of repeaters who make the round from court to jail an amazing number of times, it seems absurd to continue the

existing punitive methods. That some of our officials are seriously deficient in their handling of the difficult problems of chronic drunkenness and the underlying psychopathic conditions will be generally conceded by thoughtful persons. Yet, as noted, the present popular 'solution' of letting down the punitive bars is unsound. The premises upon which such recommendations rest are two, — punitive measures have failed entirely, and psychiatrists can effect cures. Both these assertions are overstatements; both suffer from errors of particularism." (See Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 754.)

## Chapter XVI.

HISTORY OF HOSPITALIZATION OF INEBRIATES BY THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

At this point it is opportune to go back to the year 1885 and retrace the principal efforts our Commonwealth has made to solve the drunkenness problem by hospitalization of the inebriate. The theory that inebriety was a disease received its first legal recognition in Massachusetts in 1885, in an Act allowing the commitment of dipsomaniacs and inebriates to "lunatic hospitals." (See c. 339, Acts of 1885.)

It has been elsewhere pointed out that the "disease theory" relative to inebriety met with great opposition by high ranking members of the medical profession. We will later consider this subject in greater detail. Suffice to now point out that there was "a wide difference . . . as to the best means of dealing with this source of evil." (See Inaugural Address of Governor Oliver Ames on January 6, 1887 (Acts of 1887, p. 1182).)

Chapter 339, Acts of 1885, permitted commitment of dipsomaniacs and inebriates to one of the "state lunatic hospitals," "provided, however, that no such person shall be so committed until satisfactory evidence is furnished to the judge" committing, "that such person is not of bad repute or of bad character, apart from his habits of inebriety." Thus matters stood until 1889, when the Legislature enacted chapter 414, Acts of 1889. This act allowed the admission of women as well as men, but an amendment thereto was subsequently passed excluding them.

In the spring of 1890 the Trustees purchased land in Foxborough consisting of 96 acres. Dr. Marcello Hutchinson was appointed superintendent. "Before the plans were approved . . . he visited many of the newest and best-appointed hospitals . . . in order to study their construction and administration, thus enabling the Trustees to avail themselves of the most recent improvements in the building of hospitals." The cottage system was adopted, on the ground that it allowed "a better classification and more complete separation of patients." On February 1, 1893, the hospital was ready to receive patients, and the Governor duly so proclaimed. The report of the Trustees for that year stated that "the establishment of this hospital makes it possible

to try thoroughly the experiment of treating dipsomania and inebriety as a disease."

It is noted that chapter 339, Acts of 1885, "was intended to provide for the experiment of treating such persons as diseased" but "it soon became evident, however, that this could not be done advantageously in the lunatic hospitals, for the inebriates, being quite sane a few days after their confinement, constituted an objectionable element in these institutions, and their association with the insane was detrimental to both classes of patients." It thus appears that the original concept of 1885 was a failure because of lack of foresight. The concept of 1889 later proved to be a failure for the same reason.

The first annual report of the Trustees shows what the hospital hoped to accomplish, and what they thought about the "curability" of that so-called disease. The report states "that they are in a diseased condition, in which an overpowering craving that blunts the moral sensibilities, benumbs the better impulses, and destroys the self-control and will power is now quite generally recognized by the medical profession and also the public. This diseased condition, resulting from the effects of a positive and active poison, produces serious changes in the mental and physical state of the individual himself, and very commonly entails on his descendants various disorders of body and mind. . . . Dipsomania is a curable disease to the same extent that other similar diseases are curable; that is, a certain percentage of cases can be completely cured, others can be benefited very much, while with others, little impression is made by the treatment. But this Commonwealth, by its present action, has provided the one thing, the need of which has most commonly been the cause of failure; that is, the compulsory detention of a patient in an institution under pleasant and healthful surroundings. . . . With freedom from temptation, regularity of habits as to sleep, diet and exercise, it is reasonable to hope and expect that much may be accomplished towards restoring and rebuilding of the debilitated constitutions of the patients, without which there is no foundation for permanent improvement."

We have quoted from this report at considerable length because it shows that when Massachusetts first started its experiment of hospitalizing the inebriate, the Trustees and the officers of the hospital were in agreement with the prevailing medical opinion that "dipsomaniacs and inebriates, not of bad repute or bad character apart from habits of inebriety," could be cured by hospital care if treated for a period of about two years. The

general complaint of those in charge of private hospitals and retreats was that they could not "cure" chronic drunkards because they lacked the facilities for keeping the addicts for a sufficient period to cure what they called a "curable disease." It was as a result of such agitation that Massachusetts started on its experiment of "curing" the inebriate. How fallacious this theory proved to be, is shown by the subsequent history of the hospital. As there was no specific cure for inebriety, a process of trial and error ensued. While this experimentation was proceeding, science began to cut salients in the dark areas relating to the "cure" of inebriety. What was being called "a disease" was found to be a symptom of various underlying conditions, many of which were found to be beyond "cure," and therefore "irreversible."

It may be useful to pause at this point and briefly explore the field of combat over the "disease theory" relating to inebriety. We have already alluded to the observation made by Dr. Crothers, who, in substance, said that between 1800 and 1840 there was so great an opposition on the part of the medical profession to classifying inebriety as a disease, that all attempts at hospitalization "for a disease that did not exist", as the doctors said, — were "shelved" and remained in obscurity until resurrected by psychiatrists a decade or more thereafter, when the homes for inebriates had gained a foothold under private management. We then witness the period when psychiatrists, both at home and abroad, in local gatherings and world conferences, on the platform and in literature, constantly uttered the theory that inebriety was a "disease" that was "curable."

History records that it did not take long for the "money minded," to "cash in" on the alleged idea that inebriety was a "curable disease." It has already been noted that "medicine" at that time was in a transition state. Science was uncovering the fallacies of that profession, but, when compared with later standards of achievement, not much progress had yet been made in this direction.

This period was notorious for the large number of quacks who claimed that alcoholism could be cured by simply drinking the contents of a magic bottle or consuming some kind of proprietory pill. Some were harmless and worthless fakes, while other concoctions contained dangerous drugs. Many of the "medicines" were, for the most part, alcohol disguised as bitters, vegetable and otherwise, and camouflaged by names representative of a large portion of the "flowery kingdom." It was not until the

early eighties that our Commonwealth took active measures to wipe out these beneficiaries of "diploma mills," situated in many parts of the United States, which "ground out" diplomas for alleged "doctors" who had never attended a medical school. It was this class that was greatly responsible for perpetuating the "liquor habit" in the prohibition periods preceding that of the 18th Amendment. It was these quacks, too, who profited most when the theory was first advanced that inebriety was a "disease" — "curable like any other disease."

These were the staunchest supporters of that theory, for in it they uncovered a veritable gold mine, in the opportunity it offered for the sale of "specific remedies" guaranteed to "cure" not only inebriety but also numerous other diseases for which there were no known specific cures. This was only possible because medical science "in those days" was still groping in the dark for "cures" for ailments it did not understand.

The "medical warfare" that went on between the allopaths, the homotopaths, and the eclectics, and the manner in which each "dressed each other down" in the medical journals of those medically unenlightened years, furnishes strong evidence that little was known of the true character of alcohol and its effects upon its users as a beverage. Dr. Crothers, in one of his unguarded moments, stated in substance that all that was then known about alcohol and its effects could be written on one page of an ordinary note book, "the rest" was theoretical.

Even at this late date there is great conflict as to whether inebriety is a "disease." Some describe it as such in these enlightened days. Alcoholism has been termed as being one of "the three great diseases," of which the other two are syphilis and tuberculosis. (Bourman, K. H., Alcohol as a Mental Hygiene Problem, Proceedings of the First International Congress on Mental Hygiene, 1: 444 (1932).) Others have said that "Chronic alcoholism, whether or not it has progressed to the stage of insanity, is really a manifestation of mental disease; as such it is one phase of the larger problem of mental health on which extensive research is also needed." (Parran, Thomas, U. S. Surg. Gen., March, 1941, as reported in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I. 623, 624.)

Another has characterized the disease theory in stronger language, as follows: "A practical word in answer to the fanatical theorist is that the idea of the sociologist that alcoholism is a disease is absolutely without foundation: scientific and medical experience and history demonstrate that it is not and never has been anything more than a symptom of a disease." (So said Charles E. Dolan, M.D., superintendent of Long Island Hospital, at pages 6 and 7 of the Report of the Boston Infirmary Department of the year 1914.)

That the medical fraternity still look askance at the theory of "inebriety" being a disease is obvious from the following excerpt: "Inebriety is described as a major public health problem which has not yet been accepted as a medical problem." (See Editorial in New Eng. J. Med., 226:833, 834 (1942).)

Others have given inebriety a more comprehensive definition, viz., "Chronic alcoholism is a condition produced by habitual use of alcohol, immoderately or excessively. It may be characterized by a variety of bodily derangements. Among these are digestive and liver disturbances, a tendency to diseases of the respiratory and circulatory systems, neuritis, alcoholic epilepsy, and changes in personality. Other alterations have also been described, such as impairment of motor activities, with the production of tremors and muscular unsteadiness, hallucinations, delusions, delirium tremens, and, finally, alcoholic insanity." (J. A. Waddell and H. B. Hoag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," pp. 161, 162.)

It is interesting to note that our Supreme Court has gone on record to the effect that injury due to "poison" is not "disease" within the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act, but rather is classified as of traumatic origin. (Maggelet's Case, 228 Mass. 57, 61; Hurles' Case, 217 Mass. 223; Bergeron's Case, 243 Mass. 336; Panagotopulos' Case, 276 Mass. 600, 604; Johnson's Case, 279 Mass. 481; Wentworth's Case, 284 Mass. 479; Rodrique's Case, 296 Mass. 192; also see Beaudette's Case, Mass. A. S. (1943) 1695, where the court states: "In our opinion a claim of 'injury to nerves' caused by contact with material used in the employee's work cannot without more be construed as a claim of injury by industrial disease. A claim in these words is more naturally construed as pointing toward some specific nerve injury by trauma or as the direct result of physical contact, rather than as pointing toward that kind of impairment of bodily health which is properly described as disease.")

As it is now generally conceded that alcohol is a "narcotic poison," it would seem that the above observations are equally applicable to the effects caused by the use of alcohol for beverage purposes. It would follow that many of the "injuries" due to the use of alcohol, a poison, are of traumatic origin, and not "diseases," as that term is generally understood. (Cr. Smith's Case, 307 Mass. 516.) In that event, the lesions in the brain

cells and nerves, the atrophic brain, and other injury due to the ingestion of alcohol cannot be classed as a disease, any more than they could be so classed if one had caused the injury by a hammer or a blow torch. As has been already observed, calling such a condition a "disease" gave a lot of "quacks" an opportunity to deceitfully sell many "fake cures" to a gullible public. There is evidence that "quackery" has not yet ceased. That the "inebriate" is still a "guinea pig" in the search for scientific truths is evident from the variety of treatment that he is undergoing (as to which see Voegtlin, M.D., and Lemere, M.D., "The Treatment of Alcohol Addiction," a Review of Literature, Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. II, 717–798, inclusive.)

It is obvious that if inebriety is not a disease in any sense. except that one who has occasion to use drink as a narcotic, because of some underlying urge or cause, is not at "ease," there can be no specific cure for something that does not exist. If by the term "disease of inebriety" is meant some underlying condition that causes the resort to drink, then it follows that there may or may not be a cure for the underlying condition. The urges or causes that lead one to intemperance are almost as variable as cosmic conditions and events relating to humanity, and are not always easily observable. Many are not removable. The urge to live and the urge to procreate are not easily subdued by legislative enactment or any treatment. An inability to lawfully satisfy these urges often leads to inebriety. It will take more than talk to stop the inebriety that is associated with such conditions. If the inability to lawfully satisfy these urges results from an irreversible deficient mental condition, or an incurable physical condition, and such a person is permitted to further degenerate into an inebriate state, how can he be "cured"? Such a person can be prevented from further harming himself and society only by taking him away from the liquor, or it away from him. The "cause" is irremovable, but the "means" are removable, in such cases.

Enough has been said about the "disease" theory to enable one to better evaluate the surrounding factors involved in the "hospitalization experiment" conducted by our Commonwealth at Foxborough and later at Norfolk. Let us now go back, and continue from where we left off to go on this "diversionary expedition."

It was not long after this experiment was started that science began to demonstrate that the assumptions which had started our Commonwealth on its experiment to salvage the inebriate by compulsory hospitalization were in a great measure erroneous and unfounded. When the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates was opened, its objective was to cure dipsomaniacs and inebriates, and this within the period of not more than two years. The treatment that was to bring this about had been widely advertised. It was similar to that given by the Homes and Retreats, but for a longer period of time. In time this socalled "disease of inebriety" was found to be a symptom of serious and, too often, incurable underlying conditions. It became obvious that in many cases it was useless to try to "cure" those who could not be benefited by any further treatment, therefore the hospital sought and received legislation authorizing the Trustees to "finally discharge" all such cases, at their discretion. (See c. 474, Acts of 1897.) Another faulty assumption was that "most dipsomaniacs and inebriates" were persons of good repute and character, "apart from the habit of inebriety," and that as such they would welcome and cheerfully submit to their compulsory detention "under pleasant and healthful surroundings." How fallacious this concept proved to be is shown by what transpired soon after the patients entered the hospital.

The Second Annual Report of the hospital states that "difficulties are constantly arising which must be overcome; and new problems are constantly presented which have to be solved. The first serious difficulty arose from the escape of patients; . . . inebriates are better able to run away and are more difficult to guard than lunatics."

"Foxborough was built for a hospital, and, indeed, without changing its whole purpose and impairing very seriously its usefulness, it could not have been given the security against escape afforded by a prison. . . . There are no walls around the buildings, and no prison cells, and, in short, none of the apparatus of a penitentiary. The result is that the patients did not find it impossible to break out, if they were determined to do so, especially those who had experience of convict life, for although the statute declares that no one shall be committed who is otherwise of good moral character, this provision has not been strictly observed by the courts."

It thus appears that the concept that dipsomaniacs and inebriates would voluntarily and cheerfully submit to their "compulsory detention . . . under pleasant and healthful surroundings" was erroneous. It also shows that they did not understand the psychology of the drunkard. The Trustees sought to overcome these "elopements" by reserving "one ward for the intractable

patients . . . where newcomers who are under the influence of liquor are placed until they are thoroughly sober, . . . and any patients in the hospital who refuse to obey the rules, or become violent or otherwise unmanageable are put back into the lowest ward until they show an intention to behave themselves, and where they are kept under a very close watch."

It thus further appears that the hospital was beginning to take on penal aspects. The hospital was only "one half full," though the judges were sending unwanted patients. It is to be noted that by now the hospital officials were "in the dark" as to what the treatment should be, and as to what length of time was required for "cure," as appears from the following: "How long a patient must be kept under treatment is still uncertain, and can be determined only after wide experience. . . . The Trustees and the physicians of the hospital are clearly of opinion that a period of many months is required in ordinary cases; and they consider it highly important that this should be distinctly understood by people who propose to commit any one in whom they are interested in care of the hospital."

It was not long before the Trustees were complaining that "one source of difficulty was the unwillingness of the patients to do what was asked of them." By 1894 it was alleged that a system of gymnastic exercise and baths was introduced and "had proved beneficial. . . . By muscular exercise the effete matter and poisonous accumulations in the body are thrown off and replaced by new tissues in the body and brain." Other reports show that the so-called baths were given by an ordinary garden hose, with a spray nozzle attached to it. In view of the fact that science now knows that dead brain cells and tissue cannot be recreated, — it is obvious that not much credence can be given to the statement "new tissues in body and brain replaced the effete matter and accumulations," above referred to.

It will serve no useful purpose to set out the substance of the annual reports of the hospital in detail. Viewed in the light of modern medicine and scientific data, they show startling lack of knowledge. The inferences they drew as to the pathology of the disease have largely proved to be unfounded. The fundamental error was the concept that in time "nature would restore the diseased tissues of the brain to their normal condition." The venture was purely experimental. The methods used in the light of present knowledge, to put it mildly, were ludicrous.

By 1896 the need of a "custodial ward" was not only admitted, but requested. The Trustees again stated that the elopement of

patients was a matter of much anxiety. The Trustees by this time were convinced that confirmed drunkards were incurable and should be debarred from the privileges of the hospital. They admitted that the original concept as to the "curability" of dipsomaniaes and inebriates was erroneous, and sought legislation granting them "authority to order a final discharge of persons found not suitable . . . for the treatment afforded by the institution. . . This," they stated, "would prevent the repeated return of incorrigible and even criminal inebriates, who take advantage of the commitment to this hospital to escape being sent to prison, where they ought to go, and of others who only seek to get boarded here for a time until ready for an escape; which in some such cases is repeatedly made."

Following this report, the Legislature, by chapter 474, Acts of 1897, granted the Trustees the authority to discharge finally "such persons as were of demoralizing and obstructive influence." The Trustees' Annual Report for 1897, at page 40, shows that there were 178 "elopements" that year out of a total of 265 commitments.

Chapter 474 of the Acts of 1897 went into effect on June 8 of that year. The Trustees' report shows that "an exceptionally large number of patients of this class was discharged early in the year, to clear the record of an accumulation of such cases. . . . The hospital is becoming more distinctly a place for persons who show themselves worthy of its privileges by their co-operation with the efforts that are made for their good." The report further stated: "It is such men who are worthy of efforts made to save them, and who repay the Commonwealth for what it does to restore them to usefulness and self-support." The following year, 1898, witnessed "a great increase in the number of final discharges" of such persons as are not amenable to treatment for alcoholism "because of pronounced moral, mental or physical disease. . . . In the majority of cases as seen in the hospital, the degeneration, whether mental, moral or physical, is too great to allow of its being overcome by a few months of treatment and abstinence, with regularity of habits."

In 1899, chapter 414 of the Acts of 1888 was repealed by chapter 266, Acts of 1899. This act provided for direct commitment by the district courts, with a right of appeal and trial by jury. This change was caused by the fact that the previous method of commitment proved too costly and inefficient. The cost of committal averaged about \$23 in each case, exclusive of the cost of arrest and transportation. Moreover, the system was not appro-

priate to cases in which the patient was not insane. The new procedure was designed to enable commitment of persons who had not degenerated to a point where cure was impossible. Hence, commitment as in other criminal cases was authorized.

The same year, chapter 325, Acts of 1899, was passed re-enacting other provisions of previous legislation referring to the hospital. By 1900 the Trustees were convinced that the Commonwealth should "aim to deal, through its hospital, at first, with the material which has the largest amount of salvage in it. It (the hospital) invites first to its privileges the most hopeful cases; the earlier they seek for cure the better." The Trustees appealed for the co-operation of the probation system, "with its helpful possibilities not yet fully recognized."

But though the hospital was allegedly selecting its patients with great care, it appears that "elopements were extensive." For this reason the Trustees sought legislation making escape punishable by no less than three months' nor more than six months' imprisonment at the State Farm. By 1902 the Trustees reversed themselves, stating that "whatever corrective discipline may be found advisable or necessary (to prevent elopement) should be administered by the hospital itself rather than by committing eloping patients through application to the courts." It was not long before the hospital observed that its policy of "eliminating those cases that were not proper subjects for the hospital, and the exercise of greater care on the part of the magistrates," was largely decreasing the number of its inmates, and that this in turn resulted in an increased per capita cost.

By 1904 the Trustees concluded that even with careful selection "the hope of permanent improvement is not great . . . in many cases." The "elopement problem is serious, . . . escape is easy; . . . not a few go to Rhode Island." The Trustees then again changed their minds and requested legislation, by which "elopers may be returned to serve unexpired term of commitment at the State Farm or the Reformatory." It is also worthy of note that the Trustees then recognized the necessity for treatment in "the early stages of inebriety."

The following observation made by the Trustees in 1904 is of great importance: "Some persons in the early stages of inebriety, who could be benefited by a stay of several months in the hospital, object to being committed for the period the law requires, and therefore do not come when there is the best hope for recovery. It is much easier to stop a man on his downward course before he has fallen far than to lift him from the bottom of the pit. The

Trustees believe that good results would be attained in reaching cases of this kind by permitting such men to enter voluntarily and to make an agreement with the Board as to their length of stay in the hospital." That the Trustees were having difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of patients is evidenced by the fact that they desired a change of name for the hospital. It was thought that many drunkards in the "beginner class" were not inclined to go to the hospital because of its name. The Trustees therefore petitioned the Legislature for a change of name.

The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Trustees, in 1905, shows that both of the above recommendations were granted by the Legislature. By chapter 400, Acts of 1905, the name of the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates was changed to "Foxborough State Hospital." The provisions of this chapter also authorized the State Board of Insanity to transfer to the Foxborough State Hospital "any insane person," who, when transferred, was "subject only to the provisions of law pertaining to insane persons."

In 1905 fifty chronic mental patients were transferred to Foxborough State Hospital. The Trustees observed, "Whether or not the fact that the institution now has insane patients will affect the number and character of inebriates (for whom alone the hospital was intended) that shall be committed to its care, remains to be seen." By 1905 the officials at Foxborough were convinced that there should be "penal disposition of refractory patients." The superintendent was also convinced that Foxborough was no place for inebriates who either "cannot" or "will not" reform. After stating that the hospital in 1905 had discharged 67, or 21.26 per cent, of the admissions of that year as "unsuitable," he stated, "But few of these had criminal records. but their unfitness consisted in not being of a type in whom improvement was probable, - inebriates in the fullest sense, but suitable for custodial rather than hospital care." Here is a definite and positive implication that the original concept, to the effect that non-criminal inebriates were curable by a two-year period of hospitalization, was not well founded. If any further evidence of this is needed, it will be found in the following statement made by the superintendent in the Annual Report of Foxborough above referred to: "The above illustrates clearly to my mind the necessity of suitable accommodation for inebriates who need custodial care — those who either cannot or will not reform — at a place removed from the hospital and under strict discipline, to which incorrigible and offending patients may be, by proper authority,

transferred, all of whom are by necessity housed here, to the serious detriment of new and promising cases. In inebriety as in a race down hill, it is so much easier to stop soon after the descent begins than when near the foot of the decline." The report states further that, "This year 68 of 463 under treatment 'eloped,' the smallest per cent in the history of the hospital." (See page 13 of said report.) We now observe a definite change in policy. The discharge of all chronics who cannot or will not be "cured," and the acceptance of "voluntary patients," then became the basic idea at Foxborough. But who were the patients who "would not be cured," is a fair question. A member of the Legislature who appeared before our Commission supplied the answer to this question as a result of his personal observations as to the conduct of many of these inebriates who were trusted to be "at large" in the town of Foxborough and places near the hospital, or who "eloped" thereto for short periods of time. These patients were often found drunk when "off premises." It was this condition of affairs that necessitated the passage of chapter 410. Acts of 1903, which provided a penalty of "fifty dollars or two months for furnishing intoxicating liquors to patients of the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniaes and Inebriates, or of any of the state hospitals for the insane."

From the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Trustees (1906) it appears that "The need of a custodial department, or of custodial measures in some form, is strongly impressed upon the Board." Note how the policy has completely changed from the "early days" of the hospital, when it was thought that custodial measures were not needed or wanted, and that drunkards would voluntarily remain in an institution "under pleasant and healthful surroundings," provided they were not of "bad repute apart from their condition of inebriety." The Trustees by now apparently had found out what Justice Holmes meant when he remarked that "one page of history was worth a whole volume of logic."

It appears from the report above referred to, at page 9, that the hospital was having its difficulties in trying to "cure" the inebriate. "An indictment for assault, or perhaps more than one, has been found by the Norfolk County Grand Jury against an attendant . . . and several civil suits have been brought against the superintendent and his assistants. They have greatly interfered with the morale of the patients and with public opinion as to the hospital, doubtless affecting its population, temporarily, at least." The officials at Foxborough by that time appreciated that "the moral, mental and perhaps physical peculiarities of

the inebriate patients, occasioned by the very thing that sends them to the care of the hospital, makes that care very difficult, and renders the hospital peculiarly subject to irresponsible and baseless criticism."

The implications of the above statement are obvious. The hospital is now satisfied that the treatment of inebriates under the system initiated at Foxborough was not successful, largely because it did not deal with material that was salvageable. That system could not "cure" the "incurable" any better than the penological system. Furthermore, it lacked the power of restraint that was associated with the penological system. The hospital therefore changed its policy and started on a "new experiment." In its endeavor to get the cases early enough to successfully "care" them, it recommended and obtained legislation authorizing "voluntary commitment." (See c. 316, Acts of 1906.) But it did not receive the number of "voluntary cases" needed to warrant its continuance. It still received "unsuited cases," which it finally discharged as soon as it appeared that they could not be "cured."

The following statement, referring to 57 patients it discharged as unsuitable, is indicative of the new policy of the hospital: "Comparatively few of these have criminal records, but as they were not to be benefited by further treatment, being of the type in whom improvement was not probable, they were a heavy handicap to the work for which the hospital is intended. . . . I mentioned in my report last year my conviction of the necessity for suitable accommodations for inebriates who need custodial care. The urgency of this was never so apparent to me as at this time, both to permit the hospital to carry on its legitimate work, and to safeguard the public from the expense and sad experience of having so frequently in their midst inebriates of the chronic type."

The following statement is noteworthy, as it shows how unfounded the propaganda was that induced the Legislature to enter into the enterprise in 1888: "Concepts have changed from those entertained in 1888 as to 'curability' of inebriates." Note the following admission: "Patients were first admitted to this hospital in 1893, and since that time it has been working out, for this country, an untried problem. Unlike all other hospitals. there were no precedents which could point out the right way of procedure. For many years the work was experimental and experience the only teacher."

The implication from the above is that the hospital had learned

that the inebriate it was endeavoring to "cure" was so far advanced in his disease of inebriety as to be unsalvageable by the hospital treatment, and that a change to "early cases" was imperative. But how was it to obtain these "early cases" that it had found were "so much easier to stop after the descent began than when near the foot of the hill"? The superintendent, in his report of 1906, suggested how he thought it could be done in the following language: "I would also suggest for legislative enactment that the courts have discretionary power in cases of drunkenness — not of the chronic type which are brought before them — to commit for treatment direct to the hospital, without medical certificate, for a period of not less than thirty days, instead of to a penal institution." It is apparent that the superintendent either was not aware of the fact that there was a "release law" that permitted persons to be arrested five times within the year before being presented to court for action, or he had not perceived that by that time the drunkard was probably no longer in the beginner class. Moreover, the superintendent was also mistaken as to the psychology of the so-called "beginner." Had he handled many of these cases in court he could not have failed to notice that such a "beginner" would promptly appeal any sentence longer than was needed to sober him up, for most of this class of intemperate users have strong feelings that they can stop whenever they so desire, and therefore do not require treatment in any institution, more especially that which is afforded in a hospital for inebriates. It is clear that the superintendent was right as to the need of early appraisal and treatment, but it is also clear that he failed to note that penology had its limitations and could not supply what was demanded of it.

The testimony given by the superintendent in this report shows that even voluntary patients were reluctant in their choice of Foxborough as a retreat. The following statement by him illustrates this point: "There is no question but what many cases that the hospital might benefit are deterred from coming here by a class of patients we are now obliged to receive. With this objectionable feature removed, the better element would feel free to come, and the Commonwealth would continue to be, as it always has been, a leader in charitable work."

Following out the policy above set forth, the Trustees, in 1907, discharged 44 as unsuitable for further treatment. It appears that the hospital had a total of 126 in the department for inebriates and 104 in the department for the insane. Though the hospital had discharged the unsuitable patients, it appears that only

10 voluntary patients were admitted during the year 1907. Then it was apparent that something was radically wrong at Foxborough. The Sixteenth Annual Report (1907) shows that an entirely new set of Trustees were appointed on September 18. 1907. They studied the problems and needs of the hospital, and reported that, "for two reasons the hospital is not performing the services for which it was created."

"In the first place, the location of the hospital is inappropriate; . . . the limited area of the grounds makes it extremely difficult to offer the inmates the healthy outdoor work which they need. The proximity of the town and the state border offer avenues of escape from the institution which can be guarded against only by penal discipline. In the second place, the hospital receives all classes of inebriates and cares for them practically in a single body, consequently there can be no proper difference in treatment between the incorrigible, the chronic and the curable types of patients."

"This Board is of the opinion that a fundamental change in these conditions is absolutely necessary. We recommend, therefore, that the sum of \$50,000 be appropriated by the next Legislature for the purchase of a tract of land in some thinly settled part of the Commonwealth for the establishment of a new hospital."

The new Board of Trustees, "early in 1908, concluded that only by a complete reorganization of the institution could the hospital be ready to undertake the larger duties that seem to await it." On April 1 of that year Dr. Neff was elected superintendent. He stated, "Now every man is told that he will be permitted to leave the institution when his condition seems to make it for his advantage to do so, and not before." (See Seventeenth Annual Report, Foxborough State Hospital (1908), p. 9.) The report states that the superintendent introduced two new features: "The first is the general employment of discharged patients in minor positions, . . . The second is the far more important experiment in the abandonment of all closed wards." Some of the observations made by the Board of Trustees in the above report are enlightening as to the policy the new Board adopted. They also show that the old Board was not very accurate, to say the least, in the statements contained in its annual reports. Here are some of the statements by the new Board:

"From the time of its appointment the Board was satisfied that a complete change in the class of patients to be treated by the hospital was absolutely necessary. In 1907 the majority of

the patients were above middle age. Many of them had been at the hospital off and on for years. Few of them were 'hopeful cases.' The members of the better class of patients were demoralized by association with the hopeless and the vicious. A complete change in the hospital population was sought; . . . 169 hopeless drunkards received final discharge during the past year. The aged, the chronic and the hopeless inebriates were given final discharge upon the ground that they were not to be benefited by further treatment at the hospital. Today the patients are much younger and represent the hopeful class of inebriates."

"There is now no official in the employ of the hospital who was at Foxborough before April 1, 1908. With the discharge of all patients who were not at the hospital willingly, the need of keeping a large number of them locked ceased. . . . There is no known drug which when taken into the system can permanently eradicate the desire for drink in the inebriate; . . . we recognize that the cure of inebriety has a threefold principle, — a physiological life, abstention from alcohol, and the institution of moral measures. It seems superfluous to say that the hospital should care only for the hopeful case, which must be clearly differentiated from the recidivist and the confirmed or habitual drunkard." (See Eighteenth Annual Report, Foxborough State Hospital (1909).) Note how the concept as to "cure" has changed since the hospital first came into existence.

It is apparent that if this report is true much of what is contained in the reports of the old Board as to the conditions at Foxborough during previous years cannot be true, and that what was reported with reference to the "fine show" of salvaging must be taken with much reserve. The implications of this report are that Foxborough was infested with "incurable rounders," who should not have been received there. The beginner was conspicuous by his absence, if the new Board is to be given credence. Again the question, why? The new Board in the report above referred to ably answers this question in these words: "There is a reluctance on the part of persons to place themselves under treatment until one or more of the diseases related to alcoholism appear, or until the habit has been of some years' duration. The individual is inclined to look upon hospital treatment as a last resort, and unless correctly advised he is slow to take advantage of any institutional care for his betterment."

It is apparent that the new Board appreciated what was needed, but from its own report for the year 1909 it is also apparent that it fared little better than the old Board in the caliber of the patients it was receiving. On page 19 of said report it appears that there were 405 new commitments for the period clapsing between April 1, 1908, and November 1, 1909. It also appears that 244 of these were "unfavorable cases," it being "understood by an 'unfavorable case' that the patient is unlikely to receive permanent benefit from hospital treatment." It also appears that 259, or 64 per cent, of the 405 new commitments were men of the age of thirty-five or more years: and that 208, or 51 per cent, had used liquor to excess for fifteen years or more. On pages 19–20 of said report the Board specifically pointed out that "the younger case, if the case be a frank and uncomplicated one, is preferable, as in such a patient the habit is incompletely formed and the mind is freer from fixed prejudices and defects."

Here is further evidence that neither the penological system nor any other then operating was appropriate to fullfil the hopes of the Trustees, and for the same underlying reason. It is obvious that the new Trustees were headed for similar troubles as plagued the old Board.

It may be useful to point out that the concept which prevailed at the time the hospital at Foxborough was opened, and which still prevails in some quarters at the present time, — "that the inebriate ordinarily is a man of good character and repute, who only harms himself," is not sound. It was this false premise which gave hospitalization of the inebriate its greatest trouble. Research, since the time such utterances were made, demonstrates that the general rule is to the contrary.

Ordinarily, when a person reaches the chronic drunk stage he has made a nuisance of himself for years. He has violated all the obligations he owes not only to himself, but also those due to his family, his neighbors, his country and his God. In most cases by that time he has been deserted by even those who are related to him. He has become a virtual outcast by all excepting those whose official duty it is to deal with him, and perchance others of his own type. In many cases he has become "a leech upon society." In about 50 per cent of the cases he has acquired a criminal record in addition to his drunk record." True, there are some who do not appear to have a criminal record, but this does not mean they would not have had one had they not been sheltered by relatives and friends and others in their shortcomings.

The "criminal" and drunk record of the men arrested in the territorial jurisdiction of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, for the year 1943, gives some idea of the situation which then existed.

Criminal and Drunk Record of 4,742 Men arrested for Drunkenness and held for Trial in the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, for Criminal Business, 1943.

		D	ATE.					Drunk.	Drunk and Criminal.
January								220	161
February								209	188
March .								256	214
April .						٠	,	277	219
May .								235	225
fune .								291	263
July .								225	231
August .				. `				172	168
September								218	143
October .				,				176	116
November			٠.					174	115
December				0				142	104
								2,595	2,147

Total held, 4,742.

It is apparent from all this evidence that the type of patients the hospital received were not, in large measure, of the class that could be cured by the system then in operation, because they had degenerated into a condition that was beyond cure by any system known to science. The hospital for this reason was in a similar impasse as the penal institution.

There is an additional reason which seems to have been overlooked to date, — why neither of these systems obtained the curable class of intemperate drinker of alcoholic beverages. It will be remembered that in the period under review there were several private "homes" or "hospitals" or "retreats," as they were variously known, which retrieved many of their patients or inmates from the City Prison or "Tombs" when they were "released" by the probation officers. For years representatives from the Washingtonian Home, the Appleton Home for Inebriates, the New England Home for Intemperate Women, and the House of the Good Shepherd, working in co-operation with the probation officers, "rescued" so-called "beginners" soon after they had sobered up at the detention station. These retreats at times competed with each other in their efforts to get the young and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Survey was by the Probation Department of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, from its official records.

workable beginner. At one time the competition became so keen that the practice was challenged by a district attorney, who in 1906 nol-prossed 41 cases of the inmates of the New England Home for Intemperate Women, thereby compelling it "to hire outside help to keep the laundry going." (See Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the New England Home for Inebriate Women (1906–1907.) This Home derived its main support from revenue it received from the laundry it operated at the Home. Since most of the material laundered came from the large hotels, under contract with the Home, one can easily visualize the predicament the Home was placed in when its workers were released by means of the "nol-pros." By this method of "unfair competition" the Home was "obliged to hire outside help to keep the laundry going." "The condition which confronted the Home was a serious one, involving even the question of giving up the work the Home was doing and closing its doors." But the "Judges encouraged it to continue its work," and though "the conditions mentioned continued throughout the following year, owing to the small number of women received from the courts, the Home carried on its work."

This situation continued until 1909, when "the relations with the courts and officials became cordial and co-operative again," the "Great Reaper," in the meanwhile, having gathered in the district attorney in question. The point is, that these Homes drained the State of the voung and hopeful cases at the time Foxborough and Norfolk were clamoring for them. A study of the annual reports of these private institutions reveals that in the beginning of their career they all asserted in substance that "so far as the mastery over their (the inebriates) appetites was concerned . . . all things were possible; . . . that every temptation could be overcome; . . . no case must be looked upon as hopeless." But they, too, in time found out that they were mistaken in their views. As science opened their eyes they changed their concept as to the infallibility of their method of curing the inebriate. The later reports find these Homes making their "selection of inmates among the young as much as possible . . . for several reasons, . . . foremost among which is a conviction that they are more easily impressed for good than those who have lived longer." (See Thirteenth Report of the New England Home for Intemperate Women (1893-1894).) Also see the Fifteenth Annual Report of the same Home (1895-1896), where the following appears: "The deepening conviction of our managers, that reformatory work is more fruitful when brought to bear upon the

young and better disposed among the intemperate, has led to an increasing care in the selection of our inmates, and we now seek to bring under our roof those who have not gone so far in the downward course as to be settled in brutality of habit." Also see, further, the Sixteenth Report of this Home (1896-97), wherein they say: "Young women who come before the courts for their first offence are the class which we particularly seek. . . . The same efforts as heretofore have been made to gather into the Home women not hardened in vice, and capable of being reformed under the softening and humanizing influences which the Home offers." See, too, the Seventeenth Report of said Home (1897-98), where this appears: "It is of the first importance that those who are in the Home should wish to be better than they now are. Without the desire of personal reformation there is not much hope for it. Again, if it were necessary to choose between two persons, both of whom might be equally desirous of reformation, it would be the part of wisdom to select the one whose indulgences were but just beginning, rather than the one who had been for years under the power of the appetite." Note, too, the following statement in the Nineteenth Report of said Home (1899-1900); "One of the chief efforts of the Home is to save those who are brought before the courts for the first time on the charge of drunkenness from the disgrace and loss of self-respect which attend a sentence to some penal institution, to say nothing of the harmful associations which such a sentence entails."

We could go on citing similar remarks in the annual reports of other "Homes" and "Retreats" that were operating in our State in the inebriety field. Those above cited are typical of the statements made by most of the others, and suffice to illustrate one reason, at least, why Foxborough and Norfolk did not receive the beginners they so earnestly sought. It will be useful to note that such females appear almost yearly in the annual reports of these Homes, and that similar tactics were carried on during all the period that Norfolk was in operation. But though they specialized on beginners, they, too, were in serious difficulty in the early period of the 18th Amendment. Note the following, which appears in the Fortieth Report of the New England Home for Inebriate Women for the year (1920-1921): "Prohibition has brought a change — the question of giving up altogether came up, . . . but the Board of Charities urged us to retain our organization and property, and provide for people without a home; . . . the result was a petition to proper authorities for the change of name to the Massachusetts Home, and to make it our object to

maintain a home for needy, worthy women." The authority was granted and this Home commenced its new work in July, 1920, its officers having finally learned, as appears in said report, that "not all worthy women are needy; some needy women are not worthy." Thus ended the career of the one large Home for inebriate women in Massachusetts, which had been designed to work according to the plan of the Washingtonian Home. It had buffeted the difficulties that had beset it from 1879, when it was first established, but it could not weather the blight which the early period of the 18th Amendment had caused to the inebriate crop. Similar effects beset the other Homes for inebriates in and without our Commonwealth. The Washingtonian Home was saved from a similar fate, at about the same time, by a radical reorganization and change of staff. Here is strong evidence that preventing is far better than cure. But we must not divert too far from the point we were discussing.

From what we have quoted, it amply appears that both Foxborough and Norfolk were receiving not the beginners, but rather the "cast-offs," the "rounders" and the "incurables." In short, the inference is plain that the Commonwealth was handed "the lot" that were so broken down physically and mentally that they could neither be cured nor advantageously employed, while the private Homes received the hopeful beginners, who, by their work therapy in the laundry and elsewhere, provided the chief source of revenue which enabled these Homes to carry on. Hence the complaints from Foxborough and Norfolk about the type of inebriates they were receiving; and the inability or reluctancy of the courts, under the system in vogue, to remedy the situation. It is plain from the evidence before us that if the judges and probation officers could have complied with the urgent request of the officials of our state institutions to send them only the hopeful cases, and did so, the private "Homes" for inebriates would have died of "malnutrition."

If one will glance at the "powerful names" of the officers and sponsors of these private Homes he can readily understand why some probation officers and judges shied at measures which would have tended to bring about such results, even had they had the power to successfully employ them. You will note, in connection with what has been stated, that the original plan of Foxborough did not call for a cure of the beginner of good repute, but rather the "dipsomaniac and inebriate . . . of good repute." The system was not designed or intended for the beginner, as the Homes were taking care of them. It was those whom the Homes could

not "cure" that the State was undertaking to salvage. The change came later, on the part of the State, when the concept of curing the chronic, good or bad, was found to be erroneous. Then came the urgent call for beginners. They had lost sight of the fact that the private Homes were caring for them.

However, laws were passed which, it was thought, would enable Foxborough and Norfolk to successfully compete with these private retreats. The name was changed and voluntary commitment was authorized as hereinbefore set forth. This did not remedy the situation. Conditions became so bad that, as already has been pointed out, an entirely new Board of Trustees was appointed in 1907. Early in 1908 the superintendent tendered his resignation. It will serve no useful purpose to go into details as to what happened at and to Norfolk from this point to its end. But it is useful to point out "high lights" in the march to an inglorious ending.

As a result of the criticism aimed at Foxborough in 1907 and 1908, the Legislature passed chapter 111, Resolves of 1909, which requested the Trustees of the Foxborough State Hospital "to investigate the subject of treatment of drunkenness in Massachusetts, including the classification of inebriates, the proper equipment for their treatment, the subsequent care of discharged patients and inmates, and the opportunity for the co-operation of private citizens." The Trustees made their investigation and filed a report of some seventy pages in 1910. (See House, No. 1390, 1910.) The report dwelt on drunkenness in Massachusetts in 1908, the types of cases involved, the procedure in drunkenness cases, the legal recognition of the complexity of the problem, the defects in the criminal procedure, and the statutes in Massachusetts relating to drunkenness. It recommended the abandonment of Foxborough as an inebriate hospital, and the building of a new one along lines it considered appropriate for salvaging the drunkard.

The Legislature of 1910 apparently was convinced that the proposal was feasible and passed chapter 635, Acts of 1910, authorizing the establishment of a new "Hospital for Inebriates." Under the authority granted by this act, land was purchased at Norfolk for that purpose and the "new experiment" began. After that year legislation was passed at almost every session of the Legislature, enabling the construction and development of a hospital that conformed with the ideals of the Trustees, until finally in 1918 the objectives of the Trustees namely, "(1) sufficient land for agricultural development; (2) sufficient plant for indus-

trial training and workshops; (3) an opportunity for segregation of divers cases"—were attained, and inmates of all classes began to arrive at Norfolk for the treatment that it was hoped would solve the problems that Foxborough had failed to do. But sad experience proved that the system at Norfolk was plagued with similar errors that Foxborough had experienced.

We take no pleasure at what may appear to be a harsh treatment of the efforts of such worthy and public-spirited men as composed the Board of Trustees of these institutions. But if future errors are to be avoided, past errors, however caused, must be accurately evaluated and frankly dealt with. We have no doubt that the tireless Trustees who tried their best to make the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Incbriates, the Foxborough State Hospital, and the Norfolk State Hospital work successfully, honestly thought that the system they were to manage and supervise was workable. There is no doubt but their logic was perfect, if the premises they assumed were sound. The trouble came because the premises assumed were not sound in many of the concepts which were "sold" to them. We now know this to be so because science, since their time, has spread "new light" on the mental and physical condition of the inebriate. Necessarily "hindsight" under these circumstances is better than "foresight."

To repeat, it was assumed, in the establishment of the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniacs and Inebriates in 1888, that this class was "curable" if treated for a period of two years. If this had been true, it would have been logical to establish the hospital where such treatment could be had. But science now knows that the premise assumed was false, as such chronics are rarely "curable," therefore the "logic" advanced was not applicable. So, too, with reference to the situation involved in the change of name and voluntary admissions heretofore referred to (as to which see the observations made by the Special Commission Relative to the Control, Custody and Treatment of Defectives, Criminals and Misdemeanants, House, No. 1403, February, 1919; and see, further, Report by Lyman, Overholser and Chadwick, House, No. 167, January, 1936.

Norfolk sought to avoid some of the pitfalls that had ruined Foxborough's chances to succeed. But the fundamental faults which prevented it from receiving proper patients were not removed. As a result of this, Norfolk, too, found itself "dying from malnutrition," — the want of proper patients.

At about this time came the passage of the so-called "war-time prohibition acts" of World War I, followed in turn by the passage of the 18th Amendment. These enactments sobered even the common drunks, as clearly appears from the charts of inebriates and prison trends heretofore annexed. The effect of all this was that Norfolk, called by its Trustees "the best institution in the world for the care of inebriates," died a natural death from the want of its principal "vitamines," - inebriates. It may be observed, in passing, that the Trustees thought that war conditions were the cause of the depopulation of Norfolk. The Trustees stated in 1918 that when "the war was over" there would be more alcoholism than before the war, and that Norfolk would then be in greater demand, because, in addition to the ordinary inebriates, the soldiers would be back and this would add to the inebriate load Norfolk would be obliged to carry. How mistaken these Trustees were.

The war being over, our soldiers came back. Employment fell off. Then came 1920 and supposedly the ideal conditions the Trustees had described for the existence of inebriety were with us. But so, too, were the effects of the 18th Amendment and the socalled War-time Prohibition Acts, and it just happened that the Trustees' assumptions proved to be false; for 1920 turned out to be the most "sober" year that Massachusetts had ever experienced. Instead of our being plagued by inebriates, as the Trustees had prophesied we would be, Norfolk died for the want of them. "Prohibition's" first year gave Norfolk its killing blow. You will remember it did likewise to several of our jails and houses of correction and the New England Home for Inebriate Women. This was before "nullification" had set in. A look at the charts showing the trends is all that is needed to illustrate this point. Similar trends were noted in other States surveyed. We could go over and point out these trends in detail, but we feel we have said enough to establish beyond reasonable doubt that hospitalization of the inebriate was no more successful in reducing or preventing inebriety than any of the other methods that were a part of society's scheme to avoid the evils that flowed from the immoderate use of alcoholic beverages.

Furthermore, it should be clear that our system of hospitalization failed to salvage the inebriate or to "cure the beginner." A fair question at this point would be, "Is it reasonable to expect that a similar venture would be any more successful, in view of the fact that the underlying causes for the previous failure still exist?" We wonder — with a high element of doubt.

The conclusion is inevitable that we must change the system now operating if we are to expect different effects. A way must be found to prevent the intemperate from degenerating to an irreversible condition; otherwise, here, too, we have reached an impasse. It may be well to point out that Massachusetts has been trying hard to fine a true solution of these problems. To that end a number of commissions have been appointed by legislative authority to study them and to report their findings. (See chapter 117, Resolves of 1913, and the report submitted as a result thereof; House, No. 2053, January, 1914, recommending the abandonment of the method of committing persons to penal institutions for drunkenness, and the substitution therefor of "hospitalization of the inebriate," also see House, No. 1403, February, 1919. Report of the Special Commission Relative to the Control, Custody and Treatment of Defectives, Criminals and Misdemeanants, to the effect that "voluntary commitments" of inebriates were not successful, pages 25-26; see, too, chapter 32, Resolves of 1935, authorizing "a special commission on the advisability of establishing public clinics, etc., for the treatment of persons of confirmed habits of intoxication," and the report of this Commission, House, No. 167, December 4, 1935, to the effect: "From the history of Foxborough and Norfolk experiments a separate institution is not warranted. made clear from the further fact that in the year 1935 only 17 male inebriates at the State Farm and only 7 women at the Reformatory for Women were committed by 'Civil Commitment' under process quite similar to the essential procedure governing committal to Foxborough and Norfolk. . . . Unless and until the General Court finds it feasible to establish suitable facilities at some existing state hospital, no change in existing law is recommended by your commission," page 14.)

Some of the difficulties encountered by both Foxborough and Norfolk are ably set forth in a report filed in 1942 by the Department of Mental Health under chapter 73, Resolves of 1941, calling for a study as to the advisability, etc., of creating a Bureau of Incbriates. (See House, No. 1276, issued November 30, 1942.) Some of the "sidelights" there reported are instructive.

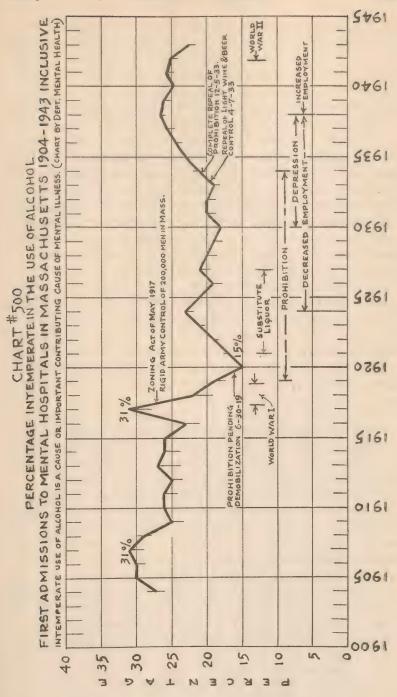
The "ground" is well covered by that report. It is worthy of close study, as it shows some of the failures of these hospitals and gives the reasons therefor.

Pages 2, 3 and 4 of that report give a brief but accurate history of the Massachusetts Hospital for Dipsomaniaes and Inebriates, Foxborough State Hospital and Norfolk State Hospital from

their inception to their termination. Pages 4, 5 and 6 set out the present legal machinery for restricted care of inebriates in our Commonwealth. We have not deemed it necessary to restate what is there so well reported.

It will be useful to point out that the Commissioner's observations in the second paragraph of page 3 of that report substantially agree with what we have observed in our study, independently made and herein reported. The Commissioner there reports: "The hospital worked under difficulties. It was not designed for strictly custodial cases; there were no adequate occupational therapy facilities; the escape rate was high; many patients granted ground parole obtained liquor and became intoxicated. The law governing admissions specified that the persons to be committed were not to be of bad repute or bad character apart from the habits of inebriety. Unfortunately, however, some of the persons admitted were improperly classified, and were not suitable for care at the hospital."

Of special importance is chart 1 on page 14 of the report above referred to, identified as chart 500, which follows, in that it demonstrates that the trends in first court admissions of intemperate persons to Massachusetts mental hospitals, substantially follow those shown by the charts relating to "alcohol and crime." This chart has been brought up to date and follows herewith.



## Chapter XVII.

Excessive Beverage Alcohol considered a Narcotic Drug or Poison, Destructive and Degenerating to the Human Organism.

A close study of the various segments of the fields relating to alcoholic beverages discloses that humanity is taking a terrific beating for the right to use a narcotic drug to the point of suicide. The direct effects are now easily traced by science and sociology. The indirect effects are not so easily observable. Especially is this so in the case of the so-called "moderate" or "temperate" user. But the trail followed by the intemperate man or woman is so well blazoned that it can be followed easily.

First, comes impaired efficiency, which tends to crowd the worker down from the plane of a skilled, ethical man or woman to that of an unskilled, unethical human being; then follows the "broken home" and the loss of friends and borrowing power; then come begging and thievery and vices of various sorts; the prison term, or resort to welfare agencies; hospitals for the physically or mentally ill; then it may be suicide, or a drunkard's premature death and the morgue.

Let us take a closer view of what science now says alcohol is and what it does to humanity when used as a beverage.

Medicine now knows that alcohol is a narcotic poison, and for that reason has greatly curtailed its use. First, let us observe what scientific studies now show about beverage alcohol.

"Within the past forty years there has been a great change in the views of the medical profession concerning the pharmacology of alcohol. Formerly regarded as a stimulant, alcohol is now classed as a depressant along with ether and chloroform." (Reid Hunt, "Pharmacology of Alcohol," Journal, Industrial and Engineering Chemistry, Vol. 17, p. 427 (1925).)

"Alcohol, . . . under special circumstances, may have a food value; but it should not be classed among foods, because its property of yielding energy is not its dominant property, and is overshadowed by important pharmacologic action, namely:—

- 1. Its irritant local action.
- 2. Its destructive action upon the body tissue.
- 3. Its narcotic action.
- 4. Its proneness to result in the formation of vicious habit.

All these dominant properties place alcohol among the powerful drugs and poisons rather than among foods." (Bastedo, Materia Medica, Pharmacology and Therapeutics, 1932.)

"In reasonably concentrated solutions alcohol will destroy plant and animal life. Not only is it incapable of aiding in the formation of new body tissue, but it is actually a poison to living tissue. Alcohol, then, is a poison, not a food." (Brownell, Williams, Hughes, "Health Problems," p. 121 (1942).

"In regard to the habitual use of alcohol by healthy persons, all authorities agree that it is a luxury, that it is entirely unnecessary for the growth and maintenance of the body, and that it neither promotes healthfulness nor in any way retards the onset of disease." (Cushing's Pharmacology and Therapeutics, by Edmonds and Gunn, 1936.)

"Much confusion as to the true nature and action of alcohol has arisen from the fact that it is popularly known as a stimulant. It has no more right to be called a stimulant than has ether or chloroform. Its action is that of a narcotic from the very first." (Whittemore, M.D., "Some Facts Regarding Alcohol," pp. 41–42 (1912).)

"Alcohol is a 'sedative.'" (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 40 (1942).)

"Alcohol is an anæsthetic; its action is primarily upon the function of the brain." (*Ibid.*, p. 111.)

"It is generally recognized that alcohol is a narcotic drug, having no vitamins, minerals, fats or proteins and therefor has no nutritive value." (Cf. Horton, Donald, Ph.D., "Alcohol in Primitive Societies," Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. IV, No. 2, 199–209.)

"The use of alcohol as a medicine has greatly diminished in late years. The medicinal use of alcoholic liquors in large hospitals of England and America has diminished greatly in the last few years." (Cabot, M.D., Boston Med. and Surg. J., Vol. 160, p. 480 (1909).)

In Kansas "the medical profession does not prescribe it (alcohol), nor are our druggists permitted to compound a prescription that contains alcohol. . . . We find no inconvenience in what you may term a drastic restrictive enactment." (Governor George H. Hodges, Kansas, "Great Progress Under Prohibition," p. 9 (November 12, 1913).)

"At one time alcohol had a considerable place in medicine as a valued therapeutic agent. Today it has little place. This change of opinion is reflected in the fact that during the last thirty years the amount of wines and spirits used in American hospitals has dropped by almost 80 per cent." (H. W. Haggard and E. M. Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 107 (1942).

The eminent Lord Moynihan declared that "Medical science is of one mind that alcohol is unnecessary and often harmful in the routine of disease."

Prof. Sven Ingvar, of the University of Lund Concurs. said, "The general advance of the time has simply banished alcohol from the assembly of medicine."

Prof. Dr. Kath, Director of State Medical Research, Breslau, said, "There is no action of alcohol which strengthens health or prevents sickness." (For the above quotations, see Ernest Gordon, "The Wrecking of the 18th Amendment," p. 160 (1943).)

"Numerous investigations of the action of alcohol on animal organism show that it is harmful in any but very small amounts — too small to have any observable influence. In practically every case, if not in every case, where alcohol would be useful, something else is as good or better; and, considering its dangerous, habit-forming tendency, it is better to use a substitute. Giving a stimulant, when one is needed, whose after-effect is a depressant, is likely to kill more patients than it cures." (Lewis R. Thompson, M.D., "Alcohol and the Medical Profession" (Wyckoff, New Jersey).)

"Until quite recently it was taught in all medical colleges that alcohol was the sheet anchor in almost all diseases, but today (1913) physicians and teachers of medicine are limiting its use in the treatment of disease, and prescribing less and less spirits every year. Not only are the medical profession, but all thoughtful men and women are awakening to the truth concerning the effects of alcohol, and are putting widespread efforts for the suppression of one of the greatest evils of the day." (Victor H. Ellsworth, Superintendent and M.D., Washingtonian Home, Fifty-fourth Annual Report, p. 15 (1912).)

Now let us review what the leaders of the medical profession have found regarding the effects of alcoholic beverages on the human system.

One of the strongest statements on this matter came out of the International Alcoholic Congress held in England in 1909. When it met in London in July of that year, "nearly all of the different governments of the world were represented by one or more delegates, who were there for the purpose of freely discussing the alcoholic question from personal and national standpoints, and to determine and study any new methods presented for dealing with the drink problem. By a comparison of the findings of

scientific investigators regarding the effects of alcohol on the human system, there was a pretty general agreement." The following statement was drawn up, and signed by the appended names:

Exact laboratory, clinical and pathological research has demonstrated that alcohol is a dehydrating, protoplasmic poison, and hence its use as a beverage is destructive and degenerating to the human organism. Its effects on the cells and tissues of the body are depressive, narcotic and anæsthetic. Hence . . . therapeutically it should be used with the same care and restrictions as other poisonous drugs.

Signed by:

G. Sims Woodhead, Professor of Pathology, Cambridge University.

W. McAdam, M.D., London.A. Pearce Gould, M.D., London.John Adams Rawlings, M.D., Swansea.

Henry Soltan, M.D.
Alfred B. Olsen, M.D., Caterham.
William Carter, M.D., Deganwy.
John Round, M.D., London.
Mary D. Sturge, M.D., London.
Dr. Sauerman, Merzig, Germany.
Kare Greater, M.D., Basel.
Dr. Ley, Brussells, Belgium.

G. D. W. Reddie, M.D., Greenblithe.

John Mint, M.D., London.

T. D. Crothers, M.D., Hartford, Conn.

C. J. Douglas, M.D., Boston, Massachusetts.

C. H. Hughes, M.D., St. Louis, Missouri.

Reid Hunt, M.D., Washington, D.C.

John U. Bishop, M.D., New York City.

Dr. Thomas Montigil, Andermatt.

Victor Horsley, M.D., added: "I regard the above view as generally held by medical men and physiologists."

C. M. Griffeth, M.D., Bangor, Wales, adds: "I believe the above statement represents the consensus of opinion among medical men and physiologists."

J. H. Kellogg, M.D., Battle Creek, Michigan, adds: "Many eminent medical practitioners are of opinion that it should be discarded from the list of useful or necessary drugs."

In view of the standing of the doctors who signed the above statement it should be given credence; but let us note what other authorities have said on this matter.

"Prolonged and excessive use of alcoholic beverages, usually over many years, finally develop definite physical or psychological changes." (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 15 (1942).)

"Alcohol also in many cases brings with it actual physical lesions in the nervous tissues, so that with deteriorated mentality the higher functions of the brain are destroyed." (Lambert, Alexander, M.D., "The Obliteration of the Craving for Narcotics.")

"The neuropathological findings in the brain and spinal cord of chronic alcoholic patients can be divided into those that are recognizable grossly and those which can be recognized only by microscopic examination. Gross findings: Almost all brains from chronic alcoholic patients show shrinkage (atrophy or pseudo-atrophy) most markedly of the frontal lobes, with corresponding increase of fluid in the subarachnoid space. . . . This gross shrinkage of the brain may be due to actual loss of brain substance from degeneration of nerve cells and fibers, or simply due to dehydration or due to a combination of both. Microscopic findings: The microscopic findings may be divided into two main groups: One group in which the neural parenchyma is damaged directly and primarily, best summarized under the term neuronites; and the second group, in which the neural (nerve) parenchyma (essential tissue) is affected only indirectly by means of primary damage to the vascular system, a syndrome which has been termed 'Wernickes disease'." (Alexander, Leo, M.D., Instructor in Neurology, Harvard Medical School, and Neuropathologist and Junior Visiting Neurologist, Boston City Hospital, Quart. Std. J. Alc., Vol. II, 260 (1941).)

"The prognosis of chronic alcoholic deterioration is nearly always unfavorable whether the drinking habit is discontinued or not." (Nolan, D. C., and Lewis, M. D., Director of New York Psychiatric Institute and Hospital (1941).)

"There is no question but that the most important and most widely used habit-forming drug of western civilization, and certainly of America, is alcohol. . . . Irrespective of what any one may claim about underlying personality problems in the chronic alcoholic addict (with which we might agree), the fact remains that without excessive indulgence in alcohol, alcoholism does not occur."

"Physicians today fully realize that alcoholism is the greatest single public health drug problem."

"If one placed in a heap all the wreckage of human lives, produced by the habit-formation implied in morphinism, cocainism, barbiturate addiction, and all the narcotic and hypnotic drugs put together, and balanced against them all the habit-formation of disastrous type sub-summed under the term 'alcoholism,' the scale would shift immediately and unmistakenly toward alcoholism."

The above are quotations from papers by Leo Alexander, M.D..

Instructor in Neurology, Harvard Medical School; Merrill Moore, M.D., Associate in Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School; and Abraham Myerson, M.D., Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, Harvard Medical School, entitled "The Sale of Alcoholic Beverages, A Proposal for Changes in the Present Methods to Conform with the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act, and to Promote Public Health," presented at the Ninety-Second Annual Session of the American Medical Association, Cleveland, June 4, 1941. (Reprinted from Mental Hygiene, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, April, 1942, pp. 235–242.)

Extensive histological studies show that brain and bodily cells and tissue in chronic cases are usually degenerated and lesioned to a point beyond repair or restoration by any treatment, medical or otherwise, now known to science. This research is now so extensive that the evidence is clear beyond any reasonable doubt that claims made to the effect that chronics were cured of their condition by "Home" or "hospital" care were unfounded in fact. It is now plain that cells and nerves within the skull that are destroyed, directly or indirectly, by alcohol cannot be restored to life, claims to the contrary notwithstanding. For authors on various phases of this field see (Cutten, George B., "Psychology of Alcoholism," 1914).

"The action of alcohol on the nervous tissues constitutes, in the eyes of the majority, the main injury alcohol does to a human being. . . . The gross injuries found in the brain of those dying from the effects of alcohol are partly due to the effect of alcohol on the circulation and injury to the blood vessels, thus diminishing the nutrition of the brain and injuring the brain tissue itself . . . besides increasing the connective tissue." (Chas. B. Towne, "Habits that Handicap," p. 276 (1915).)

"Relative to the immediate effect of alcohol on recall and remote memory, and more complex memory functions, no controversial issues have emerged. There is no question in any experimenter's mind of the deleterious effect of alcohol on memory.

. . . There is no doubt that immediate memory is adversely affected by alcohol, and to a very marked degree. There seems to be some indication that the impairment increases with the complexity of the memory function." (E. M. Jellinek and R. A. McFarland, "Analysis of Psychological Analysis," Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 273, 350.)

From our esteemed Massachusetts friends whom we regard highly as authorities we get the following:

"Alcohol does not only cause more deaths than any other toxic

substance, but more than all others put together. Alcohol is responsible for 52 per cent of all deaths due to toxic substances, illuminating gas, 11 per cent; non-therapeutic chemicals, 11 per cent; carbon monoxide, other than illuminating gas, 8 per cent; surgical anæsthetics, 4 per cent of all fatalities due to toxic substances. Sedative drugs are responsible for 3 per cent, and non-sedative drugs for 1 per cent. See an article by Leo Alexander, M.D., Merrill Moore, M.D., and Timothy Leary, M.D., entitled "Deaths from Poisoning; Incidence in Massachusetts", Journal of Criminal Psychopathology, Vol. 3, pp. 100–111, July, 1941. This should be sufficient evidence of what it does to the immoderate drinker, at least. Let us now pass on and view alcoholism and its relation to other diseases.

## Chapter XVIII.

Alcoholism and its Relationship to Personal Injuries and Other Diseases.

Records relating to alcoholism kept at hospitals do not disclose the true extent of the harm caused humanity by the excessive use of alcoholic beverages. These records do not even disclose all the harm directly caused by alcoholism. Very often a court will file a drunk case to give the defendant an opportunity to go to a hospital for treatment of injuries which he received in a drunken spree. The hospital record in many of such cases will not disclose that drunkenness was responsible for his injuries. Then, again, quite often an inebriate will be hospitalized by various conditions directly or indirectly related to alcoholism. No reference will be found of this fact in many hospital cases of this nature.

Furthermore, it now generally is established that alcohol lowers the vitality or resistance of the alcoholic to a point where, at times, the bodily and mental functions are so impaired as to render the victim susceptible to the attack of diseases ordinarily not directly related to alcoholism. In many such cases serious illness and death ensues, which otherwise would not have happened if the degeneration resulting from intemperance had not existed. The hospital record in many such cases only discloses that the illness or death was caused by the particular disease that finally was diagnosed, when as a matter of fact, the unfortunate result would not have occurred if alcoholism had not provided a fertile foundation for the particular disease.

This situation is well illustrated by a research made by a group of workers directed by Dr. Merrill Moore and Genevieve M. Gray, Ph.D., at the Boston City Hospital in 1935 and 1936. A study of cases for the period 1915–1936 by the above named was published in the New England Journal of Medicine, Vol. 220, p. 953 (1939).

Among the causes of death during delirium tremens they found pneumonia most frequent; more than one quarter of the "delirium" patients who died at the Boston City Hospital between 1915 and 1935 were reported as having died from pneumonia. The next most frequent cause was dilation of the heart. Here,

too, the underlying causative factor in many of the cases was the debilitated condition of the victim of alcoholism. "To the extent that the general hospitals treat these sequelæ of immoderate drinking, they are justified in charging the effects to alcoholism."

If this record were accurately kept, the picture disclosed would be startling. It happens that Judge Zottoli was a member of the group that was working on the project above referred to at the Boston City Hospital. The hospital record of over 250 inebriates was checked by members of the project assigned to that phase of the enterprise. The extent of hospitalization disclosed in a study of these cases is rather surprising. Many of these cases show how strong, healthy individuals gradually degenerate and "disintegrate" into helpless psychotic human wreckage. Hundreds of charts have been drawn by Judge Zottoli in these cases, showing the court record in all its phases, including the number of arrests, releases, filings, probation, fines, imprisonment, nol-prossing, and, where obtainable, the social record of each inebriate. Typical examples of these charts are attached to this report and its Special Supplement. All of them are available if wanted. They speak "louder than words," and clearly show the harm alcohol does to the immoderate drinker, directly and indirectly. They also clearly show how inebriates by improper handling are permitted to degenerate; but more about this later.

Now that we are considering alcoholism and its relation to other diseases, let us go on with that phase again.

These charts clearly show that in many cases the individual has started out in life with a healthy body and mind, but through immoderate use of alcoholic beverages he has degenerated into a physical and mental condition which causes him to seek relief by the use of alcohol as a narcotic. The ravages by alcohol to the human system is adequately described in the literature showing the research that has been made in late years, but the suffering and discomfiture that follow in the wake of this degeneration is not clearly understood by many. All that one needs to do to understand why inebriates resort to alcohol as a narcotic is for him to read the description of this suffering by the alcoholics who have been subjected to it. (See the testimonials in "Alcoholics Anonymous," pp. 183–400 (1942).)

Magnus Huss, M.D., 1807–1890, recognized that alcohol brought about "organic changes and other diseases." Other investigators since then confirm his observations. The medical literature abounds with similar observations. A few will suffice to illustrate what is now generally conceded by the vast majority

of the medical profession. At times it appears that there is a divergence of opinion about the harm resulting from the use of alcohol as a beverage, but a close study of what appears to be controversial in many cases will show, "that the divergence of opinion exists only in regard to effects of small quantities of alcohol, and that almost all are agreed as to the deleterious action of any but moderate doses of alcohol on human systems." (Cf. Cushing's "Pharmacology and Therapeutics," by Edmunds and Gunn (1936).)

"Cirrhosis of the liver occurs nearly nine times as great among chronic alcoholics as among abstinent and temperate persons; 8.7 per cent in chronic alcoholics as against 1.0 in temperates." (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 191; cf. Jolliffe and Jellinek, in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. II, 544 (1942) and Lay Supplement No. 3, "Alcohol and Industrial Efficiency," Quart. J. Std. Alc. (1942).)

"Alcohol is a common precursor of Laennec's cirrhosis of the liver." (Ratnoff, O. D., and Patak, A. J., Jr., in Med. Baltimore, 21: 207–268 (1942); cf. Clark, E., M.D., in Amer. J. Digest Dis., 9: 428–431 (1943).)

"Jolliffe and Jellinek have shown that of the deaths reported from cirrhosis of the liver, 35.0 per cent occur among chronic alcoholics." (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 25 (1942).)

"The abuse of alcohol tends to lower the resistance of the body to disease in general, but particularly to those of the chest,—pneumonia." (J. A. Waddell, M.D., and H. B. Haag, M.D., "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," p. 160 (1938).)

"Alcohol makes animals more susceptible to the bacteria of disease and to the poison formed in the body by the activity of such bacteria." (Abbott, Journal of Experimental Medicine, Vol. I, pp. 447-466 (1896).)

"Alcohol . . . lowers the natural powers of resistance to disease, and we are right in ascribing many contagious diseases in alcohol users to the alcohol habit." (Bulletin, Vol. 15, pp. 186–191 (1902).)

"Alcohol goes still further and tends to weaken the power of immunity which protects a person from having a contagious disease a second time. (Delearde, "Annals de L'Institute Pasteur," Tome II, p. 837 (Paris, 1897); Whittemore, M.D., "Some Facts Regarding Alcohol," p. 24 (1912); Oliver, "Diseases of Occupation," p. 147 (1909).)

"Uncomplicated chronic alcoholism may become complicated

by the development of one of the deficiency diseases. (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 183 (1942).) See also page 182; "75 to 80 per cent of all chronic alcoholics have a change in the liver known as fatty infiltration;" and pages 188–189: "Another alcoholic deficiency disease is pelegra, associated with drinking as early as 1841."

The observations above made give color to what appears in the charts above referred to, and probably is the true answer to the query of why inebriates are found in general and other hospitals far more frequently than the abstainer or moderate drinker.

These charts also show the great number of enforced vacations the inebriate receives by way of the short sentence and short periods of hospitalization. Experience teaches that if the inebriate was not so favored by frequent "vacation periods" at our county and state inebriate "sea shore" and "country resorts" he would soon "drink his head off" and be headed for the morgue.

This is amply illustrated by the results obtained from the penological systems of such countries where the inebriate is not sheltered but rather permitted "personal liberty" to commit slow or fast suicide by alcohol. In this manner, according to the theory of these countries, the "race is purified." This idea is probably a non sequitur. An investigation of what has happened there will disclose that their system, apart from humanitarian reasons, is faulty, in that it appears that the incidence of mental illness is there much higher than in our Commonwealth; and it is probably true that the general health of the people is much lower than that of countries who better care for their sick. This fact probably explains why the ratio of mental illness has been found to be higher in surveys made in some of the European countries than others made here, as will appear when the field showing the relation of inebricty to mental illness is explored.

It may be useful to touch upon another factor which seems to have been overlooked by any study we have seen. A study of the charts of inebriates above referred to prove that in many cases the "heavy sentencing" of the inebriate to penal institutions checked mental degeneration, thus preventing the inebriate from attaining a mental breakdown which would require detention in a hospital for such illnesses. This objective of sentencing seems to be entirely lost sight of by district attorneys who are continually nol-prossing the cases of common drunkards, thereby precipitating their chances for mental deterioration, and this furnishing another patient for our hospitals for the mentally ill. It would seem that, apart from humanitarian reasons that would call for better judg-

ment, the difference in the cost to the Commonwealth of keeping an inebriate at the State Farm, which rarely exceeds \$5 per week, and that of detention and care at the mental hospitals, which may run anywhere from \$8 to \$28 per week, depending on the condition of the inebriate, should call for a better exercise of discretion in the disposition of inebriate cases, but more about this later.

It has been often stated that "medicine ignores the problem of alcoholism." (See Moore, M., in J. Nerv. M. Dis., 97:1-5, (1943).)

In a sense this is true, but it is only in the limited sense. From what has been stated elsewhere in this report, it appears that medicine is not united in the "disease theory" of inebriety. Medicine generally has believed that inebriety is only a symptom of underlying conditions. It is willing to treat these conditions, and apparently has done so, where it was ascertainable that diseased conditions of the organs and tissues of the body and brain existed.

If one carefully studies the annual reports of the "Homes" and "Retreats" for inebriates, he cannot fail to notice that their superintendents "unloaded" their patients on to the general hospitals when they found conditions that could not be cured by high class "pep talks" and moral suasion. None of these "Homes" had proper diagnostic services. If one would investigate the diagnostic services of our specialized clinics of today, he would not take long in making up his mind that the claims made by these "Homes" about their ability to uncover the underlying causes for inebriety, and their "speedy cures" by treatment of less than a week, in many cases were just plain "sales talk," to be taken with the usual reserve. We fear the general hospitals and the medical profession have been somewhat maligned by statements that are not supported by the evidence which truly shows how much they have done and are doing for the alcoholic. The personal charts of alcoholics show that hospitals would not be kept so busy if they cared only for people who had not degenerated through alcoholism. Suffice to say that much of the work of the general hospitals is necessitated by degenerations and diseases which an alcoholic is not able to cast off because of his weakened condition, caused by alcoholism.

We venture to say, from what we observe now, that when, if ever, proper records are kept, society will be shocked at the extent of the human wreckage due to alcoholism, which now escapes recording as being causally related thereto.

## Chapter XIX.

Alcoholism and its Relationship to Longevity of Life and the Death Rate.

Has moderate drinking any influence upon the length of life? The conclusion, from the statistics of life insurance companies, "seems justifiable that the moderate use of alcohol tends to shorten life." The explanation is in part: "Alcohol impairs the forces which render the individual resistant to disease, and also weakens the power of immunity which prevents him from recurring attacks of the same disease. . . . He who uses alcohol habitually is materially lessening his chances of a long and serviceable career." (Eccles: "The Drink Problem," Kelynack, Editor, pp. 139, 140, 142.)

Here the editor points out that the records accurately kept for sixty years by the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution, which insured both "abstainers" and "users," showed that the company "issued 31,776 whole life policies of healthy male non-abstainers, of whom 8,947 died in sixty years; and 29,094 whole life policies of abstainers, of whom, 5,124 died in the same period, and concludes as follows: "In general terms we may say that the feature of the abstainers' mortality is a great saving after early manhood through all the working years of life, which saving increases up to middle age, and generally rises to the normal rate of healthy life as old age is reached at, say, ages seventy to seventy-five." (Report of the Committee of the Medical Research Council of Great Britain, December 12, 1923).

"The average age at death in the general population, corresponding to the age range of chronic alcoholics, is 61.3 years; for the patients with alcoholic psychosis it is 55.5 years; and for other chronic alcoholics, 51.1 years, as shown by statistics of all state hospitals in Massachusetts in 1933, and of chronic alcoholics admitted to the Boston City Hospital in the same year. (Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 196 (1942).)

From the mortality tables of the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company on abstainers and non-abstainers, it appears that "excessive drinkers show at all ages an excess of mortality percentage over non-abstainers for all ages combined, — the difference of 13.7 points." (*Ibid.*, p. 203.)

Certain tables showing the experience of several of the large life insurance companies are very instructive and impressive. Professor Haven Emerson, in his book "Alcohol and Man" (1935), gives tables which are eloquent evidence that abstainers live longer than any group or class of users of alcohol, and that mortality increased with the increase in indulgence.

New England Mutual Life Insurance Company, 1844 to 1909.

Снаваст	ERI	STICS	of F	Relative Mortality (Per Cent).	Comparative Mortality.		
Total abstainers			. '			59	100
Rare users .					4	72	122
Temperate users						84	142
Moderate users						125	212

(J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," p. 138 (1938).)

Northwestern Mutual Insurance Company, 1924, under Policies from 1885 to 1909.

CHARACTERISTICS OF POLICYHOLDERS.		Relative Mortality (Per Cent).	Comparative Mortality.	
Total abstainers		.	70	100
Moderate users			78	111
Regular beer drinkers			91	130
Regular spirit drinkers			127	181

Combined experiences of insurance companies of America as reported in 1929, in a book called "Medical Impairment Study," giving comparative death rates of non-drinkers and moderate and excessive ones, show:

Abstainers, 100 per cent — standard expected number of deaths.

Moderate drinkers, 109 per cent — close to standard, 9 per cent more deaths than expected.

Excessive drinkers, 195 per cent — far worse than standard, about twice the expected number of deaths.

"Occasionally excessive" become drunk a few times a year, celebrating birth or election (pay higher premiums).

These tables are set out in the book entitled "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," by J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, pp. 138–139.

"An important fact is that the highest rate of death from alcoholism is in the middle years of life for the men who far outnumber the women." (*Ibid.*, p. 140.)

We might go on almost indefinitely quoting the results of research workers in the alcoholic fields. The results are practically the same, whether the surveys are made by individuals working over a short period of years, or by the various insurance companies covering periods ranging from fifty to one hundred years. They show that "death carried off in the prime of life from two to three times as many drinkers as other insured men."

See "Statistics of Leipzig Sick Benefit Societies," 1901. These tables show that "for every 10,000 insurance years at age 25 to 34 the average death rate was 53; among 'drinkers' the death rate was 122 — more than twice as high." At the next age period, 35 to 44 years, the drinkers' death rate was 284 per 10,000 insurance years; the general rate only 97. The heaviest loss of life proportionately occurred in this prime of life period, 25 to 44 years. During succeeding years the comparative rates were as follows:

45 to 54, average rate 167; drinker's rate, 372, or 122 per cent greater. 55 to 64, average rate 298; drinker's rate, 364, or 22 per cent greater. 65 to 74, average rate 580; drinker's rate, 746, or 30 per cent greater.

All I wish to add is that the statistical departments of the leading insurance companies of Europe and the United States reach similar results. Moreover, the length of "periods of sickness of drinkers as compared to the average person averages about 100 per cent in favor of the average person."

These indisputable facts gathered by entities that can be relied upon furnish the best answer as to why so many of our common drunks disappear from our midst at "an early age." We sometimes wondered why we did not have more "common drunkards" in view of the fact that drunkenness is so prevalent. The answer is that they do not last long, once they reach this stage. They die off, and add to the "broken home," from which 47 per cent of the criminals going to our reformatories and State Prison come. I cannot emphasize this truth too strongly, hence the repetition.

It seems redundant to go into the relation of alcohol and intemperance to disease as shown by statistics gathered by hospital authorities. These show that in pneumonia, tuberculosis, typhoid and smallpox cases "the alcoholic patients showed a markedly more unfavorable response to treatment than the non-alcoholic," and that "the percentage of deaths was more than twice as great in the alcoholic."

Statistics show "drink is one cause of not less than 65,897 deaths in the United States every year." These statistics were based on Phelps' estimates, "Mortality of Alcohol," 1911. Is it any wonder, in view of all that, that Prof. W. T. Sedgwick, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, at Yale University in 1908, remarked: "Indulgence in alcoholic drinks stands almost if not altogether in the front rank of the enemies to be combated in the battle for health." These statistics show that for some years prior to 1911 there was "one adult death from alcohol every eight minutes."

Lawrence Kolb, M.D., Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I. 605, at page 609, presents a chart showing the death rates for the United States, New York, Kansas and Montana, from 1910 to 1938. They all show a striking drop in deaths from 1917 to 1920; a rise after 1920 to 1927; then a drop to 1935; and then another rise. These trends are strikingly similar to those shown by the penal charts in this Special Supplement, and are further evidence that the volume of consumption of alcohol determines, in large part, the rise or fall in the death rate of a community.

Death Rates from Alcoholism and Cirrohsis of the Liver in the United States, as shown by the United States Census Mortality Statistics for the Years 1913–1928.

			Y	EAR.		Alcoholism (Per Cent per 100,000).	Cirrhosis of Live (Per Cent per 100,000).		
1913								5.9	13.4
1914	• ;	٠		٠	٠			4.9	13.0
1915								4.4	12.6
916					٠.			5.8	12.13
917								5.2	11.4
918								2.7	9.6
919								1.6	7.9
920								1.0	7.1
921								1.8	7.4
922								2.6	7.5
923								3.2	7.2
924							٠.	3.2	7.4
925								3.6	7.3
926								3.9	7.2
927								4.0	8.2
928								 4.1	8.6

It will be noted that the averages for five-year periods are rather strikingly in favor of the five-year period, 1917–1922, when the so-called "war-time restrictions" and "prohibition" were most effective.

Averages for Periods stated, per 100,000 of Population.

		Y	EAR.		Alcoholism.	Cirrhosis of Liver			
1913-1917	٠							5.6	12.6
1918-1922								1.9	7.9
1923-1927	٠	۰			٠			3.6	7.4
1928 .	٠					٠	7.	4.1	8.2

This is further evidence in favor of strong restrictive action cutting off the supply from intemperate users, and is in line with what the charts of inebriates demonstrate.

## Chapter XX.

INEBRIETY AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO CRIME.

This sector of the alcoholic field has received much attention by students the world over. Many surveys have been made covering almost all conceivable sectors of the crime field, in an effort to find what part alcoholism plays in the commission of crimes. While the findings in many of these surveys vary somewhat from each other, it will be found on close study that the variations are insignificant where the field surveyed was of similar category. Some of the surveys fail to note, for instance, that the prison population of a particular institution had decreased, not because the commitments as a whole had decreased for a particular period, but rather because a new institution had come into being in that area, which was sharing the commitments which ordinarily would all have gone to the original institution.

Other surveys failed to distinguish between the character of the prisons, and, having found that the survey of a "felony" prison showed a certain percentage of crime committed by the inmates was due to drunkenness, generalized that this percentage covered all penal institutions, which obviously was erroneous. Having noticed some of these variations and apparent inconsistencies, we started a survey of our own of the crime field in our Commonwealth. We availed ourselves of the official figures reported in the annual reports of our penal departments and charted the yearly arrests, commitments and prison population, separately and as a whole, for all offences and all penal institutions in our Commonwealth. One hundred and twenty-four of these charts are available for study if wanted. We have annexed to the Report and the Special Supplement what we consider to be the more important of them, together with a table for each of them showing percentages for the high and low periods of the trends shown.

We have already given the contemporary factors accounting in part, at least, for the rise or fall in the trends shown by the charts. Later we will give our view of what appears to us to be the most significant aspect of the whole survey. It will be noticed that the amount of crime due to alcoholism varies with the class of crime surveyed. It is obvious that the volume of crime due to alcoholism found by a survey of the "misdemeanor institutions" will vary from that found by a survey of the "felony prisons."

So, too, the volume of drunkards found in the State Farm where most of the inmates have been committed for inebriety, will vary from that of the jails and houses of correction, which house all classes of misdemeanants. On the other hand, if the surveys of similar institutions are compared with each other, the results will be found to be strikingly similar. This shows that here, too, the rule that like causes bring like effects is applicable.

Before we take up specific surveys showing the relation of inebriety to crime, let us consider the implications of two findings relating to the "national crime bill" in the United States. The United States Department of Justice figured the cost of crime in the United States to be \$15,000,000,000 annually.

In 1935, a report, by Earl W. Evans, President of the American Bar Association, stated: "Crime cost the United States \$12,000,000,000 a year." We do not know how they arrived at these figures.

In 1936, Arthur T. Lyman, Commissioner, Massachusetts Department of Correction, estimated that the cost of crime in Massachusetts was over \$200,000,000 per year. If we apply known percentages of the cost of crime due to inebriety to these estimates, the totals would be so staggering that no further evidence would be needed to convince one of the necessity of making a change in our present penological and social systems.

In 1930, the United States Department of Justice, reported that "alcohol was responsible for at least 80 per cent of prisoners in jails and houses of correction of the United States." Obviously, these estimates do not relate to the cost of inebriety causes in the crime field, but rather the part alcohol plays in it. The latter, necessarily, includes the former costs, but the reverse of this situation is not true.

If we accept President Warren's estimate, and apply the United States Department of Justice's findings as to the percentage of the crime bill due to alcohol, we will find that this item amounted to \$9,600,000,000 in the year 1935. Treating Commissioner Lyman's figures in a similar manner, the Massachusetts crime bill due to alcoholism would amount to \$1,600,000,000. If we could accept these figures as conclusive evidence of the volume of loss due to alcohol, there would be no need of further investigation to establish the necessity for a change in our systems which permit these results. Let us survey the narrower question to

find out, if we can, how closely related inebriety is to crime, and what the cost thereof is to the people of our State.

In 1879–1880 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor made an investigation of all crimes and other "rum crimes" arraigned in the County of Suffolk from September 1, 1879, to September 1, 1880, with a view to ascertaining the connection between these crimes and liquor. Every criminal was interviewed and every other source of information was used to determine whether liquor had caused the crime. It was found that 2,097 of the 4,608, or 45.5 per cent, "were in liquor at the time of the commission of the various offences of which they were found guilty."

A situation quite similar was found to exist in England, where 60 per cent of indictable crimes of violence, and a somewhat higher percentage of minor offences of the same class, was probably the cause of nearly half the crimes of lust and of an undetermined number of the crimes of acquisitiveness. (Wm. C. Sullivan. "The Criminology of Alcoholism in the Drink Problem," edited by T. N. Kelynack, New York, 1910.)

"The Committee of Fifty for the investigation of the liquor problem made a very careful investigation of the relation of alcohol to crime. The inquiry covered 13,402 convicts in 17 prisons and reformatories in 12 States. Intemperance was found as one of the causes of crime in about 50 per cent of the cases, and was the first cause in 31 per cent."

These figures agree closely with the results obtained from the investigation conducted by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, which showed that in 50.88 per cent of convictions in Massachusetts for crimes other than drunkenness "the intemperate habits of the criminal led to a condition which induced the crime." (Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, p. 137.) See also Report of the said Bureau, in 1894, to the effect that 66 per cent of all convictions in Massachusetts was for drunkenness; in nearly 82 per cent of the cases the offender was under the influence of liquor; and in 96.44 per cent of all cases the offenders were addicted to the use of liquor.

Dr. William Stewart-Whittemore, former Secretary of the Committee on the Alcohol Problems of the Associated Charities of Boston, in an excellent review, concluded as follows: "It is safe to say, however, that the intemperate use of alcohol plays a certain part in about one half the crimes committed, and is the chief cause in about one third."

"Even from the most conservative estimates, we see that the indictment against alcohol is a grave one. The cold figures show that it is largely responsible for one fifth of the insanity among men; that it is the chief cause of one third of all crimes; that it induces or greatly aggravates nearly one half of the poverty existing today." (Whittemore: "Some Facts Regarding its Effects upon the Human Body," p. 41.)

"At least 80 per cent of the crimes committed in Ireland are recognized as due to this cause" (drunkenness). (B. R. T. Balfour, D.L. (1906), "Preface to Inebriety and Crime," p. 5 (at the International Congress on Prison Management, held at Buda Pesth, September, 1905).)

"Sixty per cent of the crimes are committed in order to obtain drink, or the means of obtaining drink, or are done under the irresponsibility produced by excessive drinking. In this state of things counsel was taken of experts interested in the diminution of crime and drunkenness, with the result that the Inebriates Act, 1898, was passed for the United Kingdom." (J. S. Gibbons, C.B., Chairman of the General Prisons Board, Ireland, "Inebriety and Crime," p. 8 (1905).)

"Let me again call to your attention, too, and emphasize the fact that inebriety is a fertile source of crime, pauperism, insanity and disease. At least four fifths of the criminals and degenerates of a community may, according to English statistics, be traced to this cause, either directly or indirectly." (Lewis D. Mason, M.D., "The Relation of the Pauper Inebriate to the Municipality and the State," p. 4, Journal of Inebriety, October, 1904.)

"As a rule, at the present time (1898), over 80 per cent of the inmates (at Deer Island) are serving sentences for drunkenness." (Penal Aspects of Drunkenness (City Document No. 158), Boston, 1899, at p. 37.)

From "Prohibition," Kansas, in 1889, we have this report: "The warden states in his biennial report that more than sixty thousand criminals are serving out sentences for felonies in the prisons of the United States, or about one prisoner for every thousand inhabitants. The same ratio in Kansas would give our penitentiary 1,651 state prisoners. We have today a total of only 861, or not much more than one half the number of criminals per capita reported for the United States." (Hon. N. C. McFarland and Rev. Dr. L. S. McCabe, "Prohibition in Kansas, Facts not Opinions," p. 10 (1889).)

This is more confirmatory evidence that the unavailability of

beverage alcohol cuts the prison population of "felony institutions" about 50 per cent, as shown by the charts relating to State Prison.

A similar observation was made in a pamphlet entitled "The Maine Law: Its Constitutionality, Successful Operation and General Acceptance." The statistics of the first year of prohibition (1851) show a great decrease in arrests, committals and population of "jails, watch houses and pauper institutions over the preceding year." (See p. 14 of said pamphlet.)

"Careful analysis of many studies have led to the conclusion that there is a distinct association between the immoderate use of alcohol and particularly minor infractions of the law and delinquencies of several types. Such a belief is strengthened by the fact that during the early months of prohibition the population of our city jails rather strikingly decreased; there was, however, no proportional decrease in the commitments to our state penitentiaries. There had resulted an appreciable diminution in vice, but not a corresponding diminution in crime." (*Ibid.*, p. 129.)

Whether this was or was not true of Virginia, it was not true of Massachusetts, for our statistics clearly show that there was about a 50 per cent diminution in the felony institutions in 1920, also in the "1860 cycle."

Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics (1905) reports that "84 per cent of all criminals in correctional institutions in Massachusetts are there because of effects of intemperate alcoholic habits."

The United States Crime Investigating Committee (1900) reported that 49.95 per cent of felons in the prisons of the United States were induced by alcohol to commit the crimes of which they were convicted.

The Baumes Crime Commission (New York) reported that 65.5 per cent of prisoners under twenty-five years of age come from broken homes; that 49 per cent of these homes were destroyed by the intemperate use of alcohol; and that 37.9 per cent of the said prisoners had the liquor habit. This survey was made in 1929 and included New York reformatories and state prisons.

The United States Department of Justice in its monograph (1930) reported: "It is stated by students of criminology that alcoholism is responsible for 80 per cent of the anti-social propensities that make necessary jails and correctional institutions." (See "The Value of Law Observance," United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Prohibition, 1930.)

In 1895 the 26th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau

of Statistics of Labor reported that "the records of penal institutions in Massachusetts showed that in 50.88 per cent of all convictions for crimes other than drunkenness the intemperate habits of the criminal led to a condition which induced the crime."

In 1941 Moore, M., and Gray, Geneva M., analyzed the records of 1,637 men, consecutive commitments to the Massachusetts State Prison, and 928 women, consecutive commitments to the Reformatory for Women (Massachusetts), between the years 1936 and 1939. Of the men, 66.3 per cent were alcoholics; of the women, 49.4 per cent. (See Moore and Gray, J. Crim. Psycopath. 3: 289–325.)

"The expenditure for penal treatment is but a small fraction of the total cost of drunkenness to the Commonwealth. Yet the expense arising from 63.4 per cent of all arrests, and 67.6 per cent of all commitments to prison made during the year (1912), together with a considerable percentage of the cost of probation, trial and transportation of prisoners, is due to public drunkenness. . . . Statistics from various sources satisfy us that at least one third of all crime (aside from public drunkenness) is directly occasioned by the use of alcohol. Massachusetts Prison Statistics show that 96 per cent of all criminals in our prisons in 1912 were intemperate by habit" (p. 10).

On January 27, 1942, Martin H. Miller, M.A., gave the results of a survey of arrests for intoxication in Cleveland, Ohio, for the years 1910–1940. From the year 1917 to 1940 the trends are strikingly similar to the trends shown on the charts in this Special Supplement for the same period, for the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, jurisdictional area. The Miller figures are:

# Arrests for Drunkenness.

For 1917						14,122
For 1920					٠	4,313
For 1940						24,799

(See Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. III, 34-44.)

It may be useful to ascertain what the cost of this breakdown amounts to in our Commonwealth. We have compiled a table of figures, taken from the Prison Commissioners' Annual Reports of our State, which shows the trends from 1862 to 1942, inclusive. These figures speak for themselves, but a closer view of results may help to bring to our notice more specifically what all this means in dollars and cents. Let us start with our jails and houses of correction.

## Chapter XXI.

Cost of County Prisons and its Relationship to Alcoholism in Massachusetts.

The net cost of alcoholism to the counties of our Commonwealth for detention and maintenance of alcoholism can be visualized from the following Tables compiled from the official records of our penal departments contained in their annual reports to our Legislature of the years noted. Taking the year 1942 as a sample, we find that the net cost of maintaining the county prisons of our Commonwealth for that year was \$1,598,829.89, which represents a yearly per capita for each of the 2,411 average number of prisoners of \$663.14. This equals an average weekly per capita cost of slightly over \$12.75 for each inmate of these county prisons.

Estimates by three separate surveys, by different entities, at different periods in our State, show that from 80 to 84 per cent of the prisoners in the county prisons in Massachusetts are there because of crime caused by drunkenness. We believe these estimates to be "understatements" rather than "overstatements." The charts appearing elsewhere in this Special Supplement, relating to county prisons, indicate that the crimes related to alcoholism resulting in commitment to our county prisons average well over 85 per cent of the total commitments to these prisons. Even if one figures on the lowest percentage of the three estimates, — that is, 80 per cent,—it will result that the net cost of imprisonment in the county prisons of our State due to alcoholism was \$1,279,063.92 for the year 1942. It is to be noted that this figure does not include anything for the capital outlay of these institutions.

Receipts, Expenditures and Balances in County Prisons, 1862-1942, inclusive.

YEAR.						Average Number of Pris- oners.	Expenditures.	Receipts for Labor.	Balance against the Prisons.	Net Cost.	
1862						1,433	\$182,006 63	\$40,007 52	\$141,099 11	\$98 46	
1863						1,228	192,745 84	39,023 76	153,722 08	125 18	
1864						1,133	222,393 84	34,352 46	189,041 38	166 85	
865						1,050	228,980 69	34,693 79	194,286 90	185 03	
.866						1,410	271,670 30	47,574 06	224,096 24	158 93	
867						1,471	292,700 83	73,427 34	219,273 49	149 06	
868						1,553	294,246 88	69,624 67	224,622 21	144.63	

Receipts, Expenditures and Balances in County Prisons, 1862–1942, inclusive — Con.

						671	ciusive — O	on.		
		YE.	AR.			Average Number of Pris- oners.	Expendi- tures.	Receipts for Labor.	Balance against the Prisons.	Net Cost.
1869						1,719	\$317,603 26	\$109,365 53	\$208,237 73	\$121 13
1870						1,711	289,806 02	114,339 46	175,466 56	102 55
1871						1,800	302,411 39	124,889 05	177,522 34	98 62
1872	٠	٠	٠			1,800	283,846 79	129,136 21	154,710 58	85 95
1873						1,761	337,906 48	145,360 86	192,545 62	109 33
1874						2,112	366,273 97	115,566 79	250,707 18	118 70
1875						2,264	366,417 96	94,373 36	272,044 60	120 16
1876						2,436	355,326 29	78,958 74	276,357 55	113 44
1877		10				2,465	353,684 44	79,991 33	273,693 11	111 03
1878					١.	2,496	336,386 50	90,367 18	246,019 32	98 56
1879						2,352	309,658 47	99,138 55	210,519 92	89 50
1880						2,177	309,642 09	122,697 67	186,944 42	85 87
1881						2,076	311,383 43	118,035 17	192,348 26	92 65
1882						2,178	337,314 92	129,471 34	207,873 58	95 44
1883						2,191	356,380 54	131,011 53	225,369 01	102 86
1884						2,497	371,276 69	128,204 88	243,071 81	97 34
1885						2,533	378,326 59	130,065 28	248,261 31	98 01
1886						2,593	368,982 12	118,138 96	250,843 16	96 73
1887						2,502	384,205 56	93,661 35	290,544 21	116 12
1888			٠			2,704	447,202 01	88,883 11	358,318 90	132 51
1889						3,024	441,375 48	91,144 54	350,230 94	115 81
1890						2,953	437,041 90	101,649 21	335,392 69	113 57
1891				, .		2,772	428,080 42	108,311 62	320,768 80	115 71
1892						3,152	442,415 12	98,703 11	343,712 01	109 04
1893						4,152	614,858 71	143,145 15	471,713 56	113 61
1894						4,582	632,667 59	127,402 69	505,264 90	110 27
1895						4,681	627,902 95	121,294 56	506,608 39	108 22
1896						4,762	640,638 57	128,543 27	512,095 30	107 53
1897						4,927	642,341 30	113,350 14	528,991 16	107 36
1898						4,803	648,882 47	124,593 16	524,289 31	109 15
1899						4,131	593,337 39	172,917 37	420,420 02	101 77
1900						3,845	602,642 62	71,069 80	531,572 82	138 25
1901						3,614	661,343 57	73,308 07	588,035 50	162 71
1902						3,447	638,310 10	75,508 96	561,801 14	162 98
1903						3,432	624,238 01	59,390 79	564,847 22	164 68
1904						3,681	633,757 84	57,609 78	576,148 06	156 52
1905						3,500	613,911 14	60,494 69	553,416 45	158 12
					- 1					

Receipts, Expenditures and Balances in County Prisons, 1862-1942, inclusive — Con.

						Average		Donainto	Balance	
***		YE.	AR.			Number of Pris- oners.	Expendi- tures.	Receipts for Labor.	against the Prisons.	Net Cost.
1906	٠					3,225	\$605,799 96	\$57,880 39	\$547,919 57	\$169 90
1907						3,207	617,970 23	89,765 92	528,204 31	164 70
1908						3,629	695,595 19	62,262 19	633,333 00	174 52
1909						3,928	723,362 59	62,484 21	660,878 38	168 25
1910						3,531	695,815 57	69,750 35	626,065 22	177 31
1911						3,430	730,936 75	63,670 96	667,265 79	194 54
1912						3,249	737,608 64	65,115 29	672,493 35	206 98
1913						3,077	782,962 84	67,807 46	715,155 38	232 42
1914						3,223	841,728 64	69,121 98	772,606 68	239 72
1915						3,488	904,873 33	42,711 95	862,161 38	247 18
1916				٠.		2,974	884,991 48	71,520 90	813,470 58	273 53
1917						2,631	970,356 99	84,834 76	885,522 23	336 57
1918						1,888	1,028,696 29	126,018 54	902,677 75	478 11
1919						1,594	1,025,564 23	142,394 19	883,170 13	554 05
1920						1,016	967,831 91	135,153 66	832,678 25	819 57
1921						1,305	924,356 07	85,957 88	838,398 19	642 45
1922						1,639	931,219 82	62,380 08	868,839 74	530 10
1923			٠			1,557	1,037,379 45	124,941 00	912,438 45	585 64
1924						1,935	1,061,824 98	66,695 57	995,129 41	514 28
1925						2,294	1,217,462 22	84,969 78	1,132,493 44	493 68
1926						2,427	1,308,452 18	86,055 61	1,222,396 57	503 66
1927				٠		2,388	1,372,209 36	116,761 75	1,255,447 61	521 56
1928						2,548	1,469,399 23	94,671 14	1,374,728 09	539 00
1929						2,512	1,557,227 88	91,448 06	1,465,779 82	583 51
1930						2,478	1,669,712 75	77,296 58	1,592,416 17	642 62
1931		٠				2,653	1,596,492 95	87,391 04	1,509,101 91	568 82
1932				٠.		2,848	1,538,925 64	71,508 78	1,467,416 86	515 24
1933						2,982	1,498,815 29	76,651 07	1,422,164 22	476 92
1934						3,025	1,519,329 54	48,512 95	1,470,815 59	486 22
1935						2,851	1,658,285 53	52,343 68	1,605,941 85	563 29
1936						2,645	1,673,985 84	65,695 92	1,608,289 92	608 04
1937						2,674	1,697,000 83	56,937 11	1,633,849 03	611 01
1938						2,688	1,629,616 32	43,229 20	1,586,387 12	590 17
1939						2,614	1,549,040 27	51,628 26	1,497,412 19	572 84
1940						2,547	1,538,791 40	65,609 44	1,473,181 96	578 40
1941						2,331	1,619,983 97	66,088 42	1,553,895 55	619 33
1942						2,411	1,654,424 40	55,594 51	1,598,829 89	663 14
					-					

## Chapter XXII.

Cost of "Felony" Prisons and its Relationship to Alco-

Now let us get some idea of what alcoholism as related to the "felony institutions" costs our State. It is to be understood that these figures are only approximate, as no one can exactly say what the cost is. But these surveys and the charts furnish a fair standard by which these costs can be approximated. The surveys from the "felony prisons" show that about 50 per cent of their inmates are there because of crimes related to alcoholism. Again, we feel that the charts indicate that 50 per cent is an underestimate. If we look at chart 123 we will notice that the first vear of prohibition (1920) shows a drop in the average number of prisoners of more than 50 per cent from the "license plateau" which preceded it, and also from that which followed it. It will be remembered that about half of the convicts of the year 1920 were there because of crimes related to alcoholism. This would bring the total of this class to one half of 808, or 404, for the year 1920.

On the other hand, the "license plateau," for the eight years after repeal, 1933 to 1940, shows an average of 1825 plus, when war conditions set in, half of which would be 912. This would seem to indicate that "license liquor," or, better still, the abuse of it, accounts for about 69 per cent of the felony population. However, assuming that the method of direct questioning of prisoners is the more correct method of surveying the cause of their downfall, and that this indicates that 50 per cent is the fair average of breakdown due to alcoholism in these prisoners, we can approximate the annual cost of this sector of the problem by finding this percentage of the total annual cost of this branch of the penal system of our State.

If we look at chapter 370, Acts of 1943, we will find that the total appropriation for the "service of the Department of Correction for the fiscal year 1944 was \$2,753,340. Half of this, roughly, is chargeable to inebriety costs. This would amount to \$1,753,340. These figures do not include "capital costs." Nor do they include costs of arrests, trial, transportation and policing. A fair idea of what some of these costs amount to can be had by referring to a

survey made in 1915, alluded to by the Committee on Alcoholisms, Boston Council of Social Agency, July, 1943, at page 20. It there appears that the cost of "Policing 354 cities and towns in the Commonwealth in 1915 cost approximately \$6,356,800. Arrests amounting to 179,010, 59 per cent for drunkenness, paid out for policing, made necessary by the drink habit, something like \$3,178,400. . . . Criminal prosecution, 1915, cost of district and police courts was \$395,551.57. Deducting fines leaves \$362,091.57. If 70 per cent of the entire grist passing through the courts was on account of drunkenness, the cost would be \$181,045.78."

It is obvious that here again is an underestimate of what the total costs would be at the present time. It is evident this estimate does not include probation costs, nor those of the district attorney or the Superior Court, in "appealed cases." However, even without the items referred to, and figuring in part on a basis of cost that is obviously low for present standards, it appears that inebriety costs the people of our Commonwealth a total of \$6,392,849.68 annually in this segment of the crime field.

## Chapter XXIII.

RELATIONSHIP OF MENTAL DISEASE TO INEBRIETY.

A casual reading of the literature and the surveys at home and abroad relating to this field leaves one with a feeling that the conclusions reached by the authorities show such discrepancies as to cause one to doubt the accuracy of the surveys. But a closer study of the various surveys, viewed in the light of the surrounding circumstances in which they were made, discloses that in most cases where seemingly undue variances appear, the fault at times lies not with the investigator, but rather with the manner in which the records of the hospital under survey were kept. Some of the private mental hospitals rarely show a record of alcoholic psychosis. It has been suggested that the diagnosis recorded at times varies with the standing in the community which the subject enjoys. However that may be, there is evidence that hospital records do not tell the full story as to the amount of mental breakdown due to alcoholism and its effect on relatives and dependents of alcoholics.

Some twenty-five charts by Judge Zottoli, compiled in a study of mental disease trends, from records of the Department of Mental Health, for the years 1904 to 1939, inclusive, covering admissions and re-admissions of mental patients to all of the state hospitals in our Commonwealth, show trends which are quite similar to those which appear in the chart of crime trends for the same period. No survey that we have seen gives any information about the amount of mental breakdowns contributed to by the neglect, abuse and cruelty of drunkards. There is at least a very strong inference that some of the flow which goes to make up these trends is due to conditions which spring directly or indirectly from the worry, neglect and abuse inflicted by inebriates.

These charts are available for inspection if wanted. Attached to this report is a chart by the Department of Mental Health which illustrates how closely mental disease trends contributed to by alcoholism parallel the trends shown by the charts relating to the crime field for the same period. The similarity of flow, over the course of so many years, in the light of contemporary similar factors, is strong evidence that the volume of the consumption of alcohol is an important determining factor of the variations

in the flow there observed. Some of the variations shown by the surveys in the various countries hereinbefore referred to are probably accounted for by the fact that the various surveys were made during periods in which the contemporary factors which influenced the results were not similar. For example, in some of these countries, the inebriate was not sheltered as he was in others, but was given full liberty to "drink his head off." In these countries a high ratio of mental disease will be observed. On the other hand, in countries where the inebriate is sheltered, we find more intemperates, but fewer insane persons. Then, again, some of the States in which the surveys were made were "dry," others were "wet," when that took place. It will be observed that the "dry" localities showed a lower ratio of mental disease than that shown in the "wet" areas surveyed. With these thoughts in mind let us now note what the authorities have said with reference to the relationship between alcohol and mental disease, and what alcohol does to the intemperate user's nervous system, more especially his brain.

"The various authorities, who have surveyed the number of these defective classes, traced directly to inebriety, have varied widely, thus clearly showing that the facts are not all in yet. These studies have placed inebriety as an active cause of from 15 to 50 per cent of all insanity; from 30 to 80 per cent of all idiocy; from 60 to 90 per cent of all pauperism; and from 50 to 85 per cent of all crime. These are the highest and lowest estimates, and indicate beyond question that inebriety is one of the most prominent causes in the development of all these disorders." (Thomas D. Crothers, M.D., "The Disease of Inebriety and the Social Relations," p. 9 (1885). Dr. Crothers was the superintendent of Walnut Lodge of Hartford, Conn., and "Inebriate Hospital," and editor of the Journal of Inebriety.)

Parran, Thomas, M.D., Sc.D., Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, in March, 1941, speaking of chronic drunks said, "They are impelled to drink more and more until they become enslaved through physiological changes . . . connected with the use of the drug. At this point they are unable to stay away from drink even when they want to. A large portion of those who escape premature death go from bad to worse until they become psychotic and find their way into hospitals for mental diseases."

"Alcoholic paranoia . . . prognosis is poor . . . any actual dementia is permanent." (Nolan, D. C., and Lewis, M. D., Quart J. Std. Alc., Vol. II, 293 (1941).)

"Alcohol 'madness' is no different from any other 'madness'

except that its cause has been labeled." (Hill, H., Brit, J. Ineb., 39:16-29 (1941).)

There is hearsay by Dr. Benjamin Rush that in 1785, while he was Surgeon General of the Middle Department of the Continental Army, "the late Dr. Waters, while he acted as house pupil and apothecary of the Pennsylvania Hospital, assured (him) that in one third of the patients confined by this terrible disease (madness) it had been induced by ardent spirits." (See "The Inquiry by Benjamin Rush," reported in Quart J. Std. Alc., Vol. IV, p. 329 (1943).)

"Alcohol exerts its greatest influence upon the nervous system, and primarily upon that part which is technically called the central nervous system, meaning the brain and spinal cord. . . . To sum up, then, in acute alcoholic intoxication the action of alcohol is that of a narcotic which attacks the highly developed and most complex portions of the brain first, and then the less highly developed and more automatic centers." (J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation," pp. 29–31 (1938); Whittemore, below referred to, p. 8.)

"Let us turn our attention to the chronic alcoholic, . . . the man who gets drunk once or twice a week and who takes something every day. For a time he may do this with apparent impunity, but that is only for a time. A slow but permanent impairment of the higher brain functions gradually becomes noticeable. In the majority of cases the first evidence of this is the gradual decline of the creative ability." (Abel: "Physiological Aspects of the Liquor Problem," Vol. 2, p. 125; William Stewart Whittemore, M.D., "Alcohol, Some Facts Regarding the Effects Upon the Human Body brought out by Modern Investigation" (1912).)

"As times goes on, . . . judgment and ability to reason clearly become things of the past, to the chronic alcoholic. The moral part of the individual suffers equally with the intellectual. His finer sensibilities are impaired by degrees. He becomes indifferent to the needs of the home, and apparently does not care whether he is able to support his wife and children or not. He may associate with men and women of loose morals to such an extent that all regard for the sanctity of the marriage relation is lost, and it becomes a matter of small moment to him if his family is broken up and the children taken from him. Finally, at the end of a few years of constant heavy drinking, will power and self-respect seem utterly gone. The man may wish in a feeble sort of way to reform and stop drinking, but he has nothing to build on. All powers of

the mind which are at hand in the normal man to carry out his wishes are now totally lacking in the drinker. Memory begins to fail, first for recent happenings and later for events which happened in the more recent past." (De Fursac: Loc. ('it., p. 142; Whittemore, M.D., (supra), p. 9; see also J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," pp. 25-54.)

"Striking evidence in favor of the narcotic action of alcohol is afforded by these chronic heavy drinkers. Whenever they are unable to get anything to drink they exhibit marked nervous irritability, . . . they have become so accustomed to the constant soothing effect of alcohol, which deadens all unpleasant body sensations and mental worries, that when this is withdrawn their sufferings are intense. Their teeth are on edge and every nerve seems on fire. . . . In spite of the physician's warnings these men usually seek the saloon again as soon as they have succeeded in earning a few cents, in order to regain the calm which alcohol alone can give them by stifling the remonstrances of a body worn out by dissipation. Thus these chronics continue to drink . . . for most of them their condition in life has become so utterly miserable through loss of occupation, friends, home and all the comforts associated with home life that their one desire is for the anæsthesia of alcohol to enable them to forget it all. Very frequently, in the constant tipler, alcohol causes actual structural changes in the more important nerve trunks. If the condition is severe he may be rendered absolutely helpless by his inability to use either legs or arms. This disease is known as alcoholic neuritis." (Osler: "Practice of Medicine," 6th Edition, 1905, pp. 1001, 1002; Whittemore, supra, p. 11.)

"There can be little doubt that the excessive use of liquors, both fermented and distilled, is the cause of much insanity. Dr. Henry W. Mitchell, Superintendent of Danvers State Hospital for the Insane, stated recently that 20 per cent of the men and 8 per cent of the women committed each year to that institution are there because of drink. (Whittemore, supra, p. 11.)

This seems a conservative estimate and agrees well with figures given by investigators in other parts of the world, as the following statistics from Great Britain show:

The proportion of patients admitted in whose cases intemperance was assigned as a cause of insanity to the total number of admissions into county and borough asylums, registered hospitals, naval and military hospitals, state asylums and licensed homes in England and Wales, as reported by John Burns, M.P.

("Labor and Drink," 5th Lees and Roper Memorial Lecture, 1904, pp. 21, 22) is as follows:

				Y	EAR.				Males (Per Cent).	Females (Per Cent).
1876					٠		s •	.	22.7	7.8
1879									21.1	7.6
1888-18	392,	average	for	five	years				20.5	8.1
1898-19	902,	average	for	five	years				22.8	9.5

(Whittemore, supra, p. 12.)

After they built their retreats and reformatories the percentage of alcoholic psychosis even increased, over what it was when the old system prevailed. Why? The answer is that the emphasis was being placed on "cure" rather than on "prevention." The volume of supply to the inebriate was not lessened by the system being operated.

Dr. S. E. Jellife of New York made the following remark during the session of the American Medical Association at Atlantic City, in June, 1907. In the meeting of the section on nervous and mental diseases he said: "The subject (alcoholic insanity) is one of the most interesting and important in the whole field of psychiatry, since there is no single substance that is so widely used as alcohol, and no substance which in its use produces such widespread and manifold mental effects and leads to so much mental breakdown." (See Journal of American Medical Association, Vol. 49, p. 1653.)

Cf. Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," p. 246, who rather challenged this position and asserted that the contribution of inebriety to first court admissions is between 5.3 per cent and 6.0 per cent of total admissions to mental hospitals.

"The most common form of insanity produced by alcohol is delirium tremens. . . . A form of mental disorder somewhat resembling delirium tremens is known as alcoholic hallucinosis." (Mitchell, Am. Journal of Insanity, 1904, Vol. 71, No. 2, pp. 255–267; Whittemore, *supra*, p. 12.)

"A more serious type of mental disorder occurring in the chronic alcoholic is known as alcoholic delusional insanity."

"The most hopeless of these affections is alcoholic dementia — memory, ambition, initiative and emotions fade out by degrees so that the patient becomes more or less of an automaton."

"Another type of alcoholism is known as dipsomania. Such a man will suddenly be seized with an absolutely uncontrollable impulse to drink and will go on a spree which may last for a week or two. Then he will return to his work and will be entirely free from any craving for alcohol possibly for several months. Dipsomania with its sudden attacks resembles epilepsy in many ways. . . . It is the most hopeless type of alcoholism. . . . The patient in spite of all treatment may become a confirmed alcoholic." (Osler, Loc. Cit., p. 369; Whittemore, supra, pp. 12–15.)

"There is no more difficult treatment problem in psychiatry than that presented by the alcohol addict." (Fleming, R., Soc. Forces, 21: 72-75 (1942).)

Delirium Tremens. — "The attack is usually recovered from, but if alcoholic excesses are kept up a return of the trouble is to be expected, and as a result of repeated attacks, permanent insanity." (Whittemore, p. 13.)

Alcoholic Hallucinosis. — "Recovery is slow, and a slight permanent impairment of intellect is apt to remain. In these cases attempts at suicide to escape from the persecuting voices heard are common."

Alcoholic Delusional Insanity.— "Such patients become so unreasonable and surly that they have to be confined in an asylum for prolonged periods. Very few such cases ever recover sufficiently to return to their usual occupations." (Mitchell, Amer. Journal of Insanity, 1904, Vol. 71, No. 2, p. 271.)

Alcoholic Dementia. — "The most hopeless of these affections. The patient cares nothing for his family, cannot realize his condition, regards his confinement as a joke, and is contented to remain in an asylum the rest of his life, taking less and less interest in what goes on about him as time progresses." (Whittemore, supra, p. 14.)

Alcohol depresses the Nervous System. — First it affects "the inhibitory controlling functions of the brain in general, and also those most recently acquired human traits of judgment, sense of responsibility, will power, and, after excessive amounts, moral integrity.

"Next to be affected are the intellectual functions; then the sensory and reflex activities; then the motor, and finally, after large quantities, the vital nervous centers dealing with the functions of respiration and circulation." (Waddell and Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," pp. 25–54, inclusive, and p. 156.)

"It is an outstanding fact shown by statistics that there are

four times as many insane among those who use alcohol excessively as there are in any other group of persons." (J. A. Waddell and H. B. Haag, "Alcohol in Moderation and Excess," p. 115 (1938).)

"The low rates of alcoholic mental disease and other social gains in New York and Massachusetts in 1920 indicate the possibility of eliminating most of the evils arising from the excessive use of alcohol." (Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Ph.D., formerly Director of Mental Hygiene Statistics of New York.)

From a report of the Department of Justice (U. S.) we find this: "Thus it is shown that alcohol is responsible for at least 25 per cent of the insane in the United States." (See the report of the Department of Justice (U. S.), "Value of Law Observance" (1930).)

In Great Britain, from a report of Glouston, M.D., it appears that in the years 1889–98 the average number of "Alcoholic Lunatics" in the asylums of Scotland averaged  $21\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total inmates; in 1899,  $22\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; in 1900–1901,  $24\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; in 1902, 28 per cent. These averages were for total admissions; if men alone were counted, the average would increase, in 1902, to about 35 per cent.

For an extensive survey of this field covering findings of about twenty other surveys in Europe and America, see Cutten, George B., "Psychology of Alcoholism" (1914).

In 1941 Dr. Jackson M. Thomas, Medical Superintendent of the Channing Sanatorium, of Wellesley, Massachusetts, reported in part as follows: "Excessive indulgence in alcohol continues to be a social problem for which no adequate solution has been found. . . . If the alcoholic addict pursues overindulgence long enough, serious alterations in the efficiency of the functions of his nervous system occur; sometimes irreparable damage to the tissues themselves is the result. These changes are expressed in the variety of clinical pictures." (See Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. III, 65–78.)

It appears from the report of the Boston State Hospital for the year 1913 that for the period of eighteen months there were 1,829 admissions of persons of all forms of mental disease; 614 of these were caused by alcoholism. This equaled 32 per cent of the total.

Under the authority of an act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1894, the Bureau of Statistics and Labor was engaged in a thorough investigation of the relation of drink to pauperism, crime and insanity. As regards insanity, about 1,800 cases were investigated, and in 69 cases out of every 100, one or

both parents of the lunatic were intemperate, and in 25 cases out of every 100, the intemperate habits of the person himself were the cause of the insanity.

The conclusions reached from an extensive survey on "alcohol and mental disorder in Massachusetts" for the years 1917 to 1933 are noteworthy as cumulative evidence of the beneficial results of the restriction of the consumption of alcohol as a beverage. The conclusions are summarized as follows: (1) "Chronic alcoholism is a prominent etiological factor in about one fifth of all admissions to mental hospitals in Massachusetts. In 56, 579 first admissions, 32 per cent of the male patients were intemperate, 33 per cent were temperate drinkers, and 34 per cent were abstinent. (2) Chronic alcoholism in mental patients showed its high point in the first year of the period, 1917-1933. Both first and readmissions demonstrated the low points for alcoholism in 1920, the first year of national prohibition. A rise occurs in the years following, but chronic alcoholism does not return to the high level of 1917. . . . In mental cases, at least, the prohibition period is associated with a reduction in the consumption of alcoholic liquors."

The survey was by: Neil A. Dayton, M.D., formerly Director, Statistics, Massachusetts Department of Mental Health, and currently Superintendent of Mansfield State Hospital, Connecticut; Merrill Moore, M.D., Director of Research, Washingtonian Hospital; Dorothy A. Kunberger, B.S., formerly Assistant in Research, Massachusetts Department of Mental Health; Geneva M. Gray, Ph.D., Clinical Pathologist, Washingtonian Hospital. (Reported in Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. III, 51–63 (1941).)

"There has been a general increase of admissions for alcoholic psychosis in the New York state hospitals from 1920 to 1940. The following tabulation shows the average annual standardized rates of first admissions for alcoholic psychosis to all mental hospitals in New York State per 100,000 of corresponding population."

			Alcoholic Psychosis,									
			1919-1921.	1929-1931.	1939-1941							
Male .			5.61	13.47	17.60							
Female			1.64	2.55	3.76							
Totals		۰	7.25	16.02	21.36							

"Of 2,764 admissions to four state hospitals in Virginia during the year ending June, 1942, 667, or 24.1 per cent, were admitted because of alcoholic psychosis or as inebriates. An additional 200 admitted for other causes were intemperate or heavy drinkers."

"The question of mental disease and defect deserves consideration by the intelligent public. Even from the standpoint of economics the citizen and taxpayer will find much to interest him. Few people realize that in this country there are more beds in public hospitals devoted to those who are mentally sick than to all classes of the physically sick combined." (Clinical Psychiatry, Strecker and Ebauch, XI (1935).)

"During the statistical year ending September 30, 1917, 511 cases of alcoholic psychosis, constituting 12.3 per cent of the first court admissions, were admitted to the mental hospitals of the State. The low point after that came in 1920, when 3.6 per cent were admitted. Since that time there has been a moderate rise, and during the year ending September 30, 1934, 241 cases, or 7.3 per cent, diagnosed as alcoholic psychosis were admitted to the mental hospitals of this Commonwealth. In a considerable additional number of cases intemperate alcoholic habits have been noted in the patients admitted, even though the diagnosis is not that of alcoholic psychosis. Here, again, 1917 seems to have been the high year, with 27.7 per cent of admissions classified as intemperate in the use of alcohol. In 1920 the rate dropped to 10.6 per cent, with a moderate rise since that time, so that in 1934, 17.4 per cent of the total admissions were classified as intemperate." (See Report, House, No. 167 (January 1936) by Commissioners Lyman, Overholser and Chadwick (1936), p. 12; Resolves of 1935, c. 32.)

"Insanity caused directly by abuse of alcohol is a source of heavy cost to the Commonwealth each year. According to the reports of the physicians of Massachusetts hospitals for the insane, alcoholic intemperance was the primary cause of insanity in 15.67 per cent of the cases committed for the first time to a hospital for the insane during the years 1910–12, and was assigned as a contributing cause in 4.41 per cent of first commitments." (House, No. 2053, January, 1914. Report of the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, p. 10, and see Fourteenth Annual Report of State Board of Insanity, p. 284.)

"The 1912 report of the New Hampshire State Hospital for the Insane puts alcoholism in the first place as predisposing cause to insanity among men. Next to the 35.5 per cent due to this cause comes heredity with 19.6 per cent, and old age with 6 per cent. After the abandonment of state prohibition in New Hampshire there was a marked increase of insanity in the State. We borrow from the 15th Report of the Board of Commissioners of Lunacy (page 195), the statistics of eleven years preceding repeal and eleven years following repeal. . . . Average number of inmates in the state and all county asylums for last eleven years of prohibition, 719. Average number of inmates in each of the first eleven years of license, 986.9." (This is an increase of 37.2 per cent for the license period over the prohibition period.)

In Connecticut, commitments for alcoholic insanity in 1920 were less than one third the number of 1917; the death-rate from alcoholism and cirrhosis, less than one half.

A survey of first court admissions of the years 1917 to 1934, of the mentally ill, to our hospitals, showing the number and percentage of intemperates in the use of alcohol, is instructive. Here, too, it will be observed that the year 1920, the first year of prohibition, shows the lowest rate of all these years. This is further evidence of the efficacy of keeping alcohol from the community. The following table tells its own story:

First Court Admissions, 1917–1934, inclusive, classified as Intemperate in the Use of Alcohol.

[All state hospitals, Bridgewater, Tewksbury and McLean, and Veterans' Administration Facilities Nos. 95 and 107 in 1929.]

	Y	EAR.			Total First Admissions.	Total Number of Intemperate.	Intemperate Number of First Admissions
1917					4,159	1,151	27.7
1918					3,766	784	20.8
1919					3,816	689	18.0
1920					2,918	298	10.6
1921					3,099	394	12.7
1922					3,356	481	14.3
1923		٠.			2,836	448	15.5
1924					2,932	508	17.3
1925					2,965	452	15.2
1926					2,896	424	14.6
1927				٠.	2,838	516	18.2
1928			٠		3,115	522	16.7
1929					3,046	514	16.7
1930	٠.				3,182	517	16.2
1931	J.				3,144	487	15.4
1932					3,103	526	16.9
1933					3,227	514	15.9
1934					3,267	569	17.4

This table reveals the number of first regular court admissions by years, and also gives the percentages of intemperate users of alcohol for each of these years. It will be observed that the highest percentage of intemperate users of alcohol was 27.7 per cent in the year 1917. The lowest percentage was observed in the year 1920, 10.6 per cent. After 1920 we observe a gradual rise until we reach 1927, where the recorded percentage was 18.2. The percentage for 1928 and 1929 remain the same, — 16.7 per cent for both years. Although there has been a tendency toward a slight decrease in percentages since 1927, the last year, 1934, has shown an increase in the number of intemperate cases. (See Rept. of Commissioner of Mental Diseases (1934), at pp. 160–161.)

But it is important to note that this table does not give a true picture of the various trends showing the variations in the "volume of flow" at various periods to our hospitals for the mentally ill. If we examine the various charts relating to mental disease trends in our Commonwealth, it will appear that the percentages of the volume of flow to our state hospitals are considerably higher than those shown by the above table, which includes the flow into McLean and Veterans' Administration Facilities Nos. 95 and 107. The following table, made from the annual records of the Department of Mental Health of our Commonwealth, shows the percentages of first court admissions classified as intemperate, for the years stated:

Percentage of First Admissions classified as Intemperate, State Hospitals for Mentally Ill, 1904–1941.

	YEA	R.		Percentage of Intemperates in First Court Admissions.		YE	AR.	2	Percentage of Intemperates i First Court Admissions.
1904 .				27	1923	٠,			21
1905 .				30	1924				23
1906 .				30	1925				21
1907 .				31	1926				19
1908 .		. 、	٠	29	1927				21
909 .				25	1928				20
910 .				26	1929				19
911 .				26	1930				18
912 .				25	1931				20
913 .				27	1932				20
914 .				26	1933				19
915 .				26	1934				21.4
916 .				23	1935		٠		23
.917 .				31	1936	6			24.6
918 .				22	1937				25.3
919 .			۰	19	1938				26.5
920 .				15	1939				26
921 .		a		17	1940				24.6
922 .				19	1941				25.8

Here, again, it appears that the year 1920, the first year of prohibition, shows the lowest volume of admissions in most of these years. Is this just coincidental? We believe it is not. The logical inference is in the first year of prohibition the volume of consumption of alcoholic beverage was the smallest for the whole period surveyed; and that it was this fact that cut down the

volume of the human stream that flowed into the hospitals for the mentally ill. This is another example of where prevention is better than cure.

Another interesting situation is disclosed by information in the Report of the Special Commission established under chapter 1, Resolves of 1938, to study the "Whole Matter of Mentally Diseased" in Massachusetts.

The report of the Commission is House, No. 2400, March, 1939. The figures are set out at page 327 of this report. This shows that the highest increase in hospitalization of the mentally ill came in 1904, when the increase was 897 above the average increase of the whole period 1904–1937. The year 1919 showed a decrease to "minus 67" below the average. Why?

All this evidence shows that alcoholism plays a much larger rôle in mental breakdown than is now generally supposed, and that there is necessity for closer study and research to ascertain more exact knowledge in this field from an academic point of view. But this does not mean that we have not enough evidence of breakdown to evaluate conditions from a practical standard. Here approximations to exactness is all that is needed to demonstrate the harm done to society. Let us view other angles which enter into the matter we are now considering.

Average Length of Stay in Hospitals for the Mentally Ill for Persons dying in 1934, "due to Alcoholic Psychosis."

							Years.
For "first admissions"							16.08
For re-admissions .							7.67
(Report of Department	of Me	ental	Dise	eases	(Ma	iss.),	1934.)

It appears that those who enter the state insane hospitals for alcoholic psychosis, if not permitted to leave periodically, live longer than patients having any other kind of psychosis. Some of the alcoholics showed re-admissions of ten or more times.

The average age at time of death "of alcoholic psychosis patients is 62.9 years." It seems that if the State desired to get rid of its patients of this class in less than half the time it usually cares for them, all it would have to do would be to parole them more often to their relatives and friends. They would then "drink their heads off" in about eight years from the time they were first admitted. But there are other considerations against this kind of treatment, besides humanitarian, which forbid frequent releases.

The relation of inebriety to crime is close. No community can afford the consequences of permitting alcoholic psychotic people to be at large. It is clear that a "loose penology" in regard to alcoholism will increase the class of alcoholic psychotics; and it is also obvious that a loose control of alcoholic psychotics will increase the class of "alcoholic psychotic criminals." Too many of this group are now cluttering our penal institutions for the commission of so-called vicious crimes, when, if the truth were known, it would be found that alcohol was at the root of their trouble.

It appears that in 1939, \$40,094,589.64 worth of land and buildings were used by our Commonwealth to then house and care for 27,171 mental cases, 21,882 of which were adults and 5,289 juveniles. In that year there were 7,707 admitted to the state hospitals and 308 to the state schools.

It may be helpful to note that the number of acres held by these institutions was 11,673.02, divided as follows: 5,983.40 acres for the use of building sights and grounds, and 5,689.62 acres for farming purposes, if needed.

In view of this large acreage owned by the State and connected with these hospitals, it would seem feasible to provide facilities for treating inebriates, on location with these services, as recommended by Dr. Overholser and others in the report made by them a few years ago, and referred to elsewhere in this report. If "the experiment" is again undertaken, a new building could be erected on one of these sites for that purpose, which could be easily converted if the fate that befell Norfolk were repeated.

However, let us go back to consider the meaning of all these surveys, and to approximate the cost to the people of our Commonwealth of the mental breakdown due to the immoderate use of alcoholic beverages.

What does all this evidence mean?

It is apparent from these surveys that the immoderate use of alcoholic beverages injuriously affects all the systems of the human body. The nervous system, respiratory system, circulatory system, urinary system, and digestive system have all been carefully considered with reference to their reaction to alcohol. It sufficiently appears that all are injuriously affected by its intemperate use.

There is still much to be learned by science with reference to parts of all these systems, and the "mysterious glands" concerning which "so little is yet known." However, there can now be no doubt but that the "greatest and severest injury caused by

alcohol is to the nervous system, probably because it contains fats, which alcohol seems to affect more severely than other components. The authors cited and many others point out in clear and simple language that whatever truth there may be in the claims of the liquor interests, that no harm comes from moderate drinking, the fact is that every honest investigator, and some not so truthful, agree that great harm is caused by the intemperate use of alcohol, and therefore ways and means must be found to prevent it, as there is no treatment known by which a "cure" can be attained in many of the cases.

# Chapter XXIV.

Cost of Mental Disease due to Inebriety in Massachusetts.

It is important to note what the cost of insanity amounts to in our Commonwealth. The report of the Commissioner of Mental Diseases of our State for the year 1934 states that for a period of sixteen years, 1919 to 1934, inclusive, an average of 17 cents out of every state dollar, was expended for the care of the mentally ill, mentally deficient and epileptic.

From the above surveys, and others which have come to our notice (see "Fifteen Years of the Drink Question in Massachusetts," by Cora F. Stoddard and Amy Woods, page 70. See also report of the Committee on Alcoholics, Boston Council of Social Agencies, pages 20–24, inclusive (1943)), and from our own survey of the relation of alcohol to insanity, covering the years 1904–1939, inclusive, in Massachusetts, we believe that at least 25 per cent of the mental disease in our Commonwealth is directly and indirectly due to conditions stemming from the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages.

What is the extent of this cost to our citizens?

Again, we can only approximate this by applying known percentages of mental breakdown due to alcohol to the budget requirements of the department which has charge and oversight of it.

The total appropriation for the year 1944 for the care for these unfortunates amounts to \$12,237,788. (See c. 370, Acts of 1943.) Twenty-five per cent of this equals \$3,059,447, which can properly be charged to the effects of inebriety.

We realize that included in this total is some of the cost of the care of the feeble-minded and the epileptic, but this fact makes little if any difference, because, if a proper evaluation were possible, it probably would be found that these mental conditions were often the result of "bad stock" they descended from in which alcoholism played an equally important part.

See Haggard and Jellinek, "Alcohol Explored," pages 145–149 and 213–214, and W. A. Potts, M.D. (1908), "Royal Commission on care and Control of Feeble-minded," which reported: "Feeble-mindedness and alcoholism go hand in hand. . . . Five times as

many feeble-minded as normal children had both parents alcoholic. Of 250 feeble-minded children, 41.6 per cent had one or both parents alcoholic." See also the study made by Professor Devine of Berne, Switzerland, covering a twelve-year study of twenty families, ten of which had sober parents, while the other ten had alcoholic parents. "Except for drinking habits, all twenty families were living in similar circumstances."

This survey showed that only 17.5 per cent of the children were normal in the intemperate families, while 82 per cent were normal in the temperate families.

Also see McGuigan, "Pharmacology and Therapeutics" (1929), Bastedo, "Materia Medica, Pharmacology and Therapeutics" (1932), and Sollman, "Manual of Pharmacology" (1936), for similar opinions.

These results may give some clue as to why we have so many "4-Fs" in our midst, as shown by selective service.

In addition to the loss caused the State for the care of the mentally ill due to alcoholism, there is that arising from the care of the insane inebriate in the private hospitals of our Commonwealth. This can be approximated from the results of a survey made in 1934, which demonstrated that the cost of caring for the mentally ill in the private institutions of our State amounted to \$3,492,200 for that year. Figuring the cost due to alcoholism on the same basis as that established for our state hospitals (that is, 25 per cent of the total cost), it appears that the charge of the loss due to alcoholism for these private institutions would come to \$873,075. There is no sound reason to believe the costs for 1944 would be less than those of 1934, when the costs of maintenance were at a lower level than is now prevailing.

Percentage of Total State Expenditure used for Care of Mentally Ill, 1913-1943, inclusive.

	Fis	Nov	Уелі емві сн Ү	er 30	,		Total expended by the State of Massachusetts.	Total expended for the Care of Insane, Feeble- minded and Epileptic. 1	Percentage
1913							\$24,543,221 70	\$4,632,593 84	18.88
1919 .			۰				53,769,626 25	6,864,669 63	12.77
1920 .			٠				46,648,928 67	7,852,184 56	16.83
1921 .						. `	41,669,278 65	. 8,252,082 46	19.80
1922 .							44,114,727 08	8,217,175 36	18.63
1923 .		٠					45,838,413 85	8,777,574 59	19.10
1 924 .	:						47,286,108 80	8,577,393 51	18.14
1925 .							46,613,633 49	8,506,305 01	18.25
1926 .							49,164,754 28	8,674,918 98	17.64
1927 .							51,537,132 98	9,537,342 42	18.51
1928 .			٠				53,763,560 75	10,441,689 17	19.42
1929 .							58,346,381 85	12,030,668 66	20.62
1930 .							64,150,582 95	12,728,067 23	19.84
1931 .			٠,				75,282,580 95	12,408,228 22	16.84
1932 .							77,971,941 54	11,495,403 21	14.74
1933 .							64,091,084 85	8,921,067 31	13.92
1934 .							71,570,396 94	10,684,191 91	14.93
1935 .							83,034,847 94	14,314,064 13	17.33
1936 .							93,384,601 54	14,398,158 44	15.42
1937 .	٠.						98,604,007 51	13,533,255 49	13.72
1938 .				٠			113,124,705 28	13,452,784 09	11.89
1939 .							131,571,492 03	13,790,233 58	10.48
1940 .							123,200,427 88	12,938,051 93	10.50
1941 .							127,039,473 06	12,813,113 22	10.09
1942 .							125,411,797 13	13,541,869 74	10.78
1943 <sup>2</sup>							56,976,243 30	7,512,023 24	13.16

<sup>1</sup> Includes department institutions, mental wards at Tewksbury, and State Farm (Bridge water).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The 1943 figure is for a 7-month period.

# Chapter XXV.

Relationship of Inebriety to Public Welfare, Venereal Disease and Sex Offences. Cost Thereof.

Much of the poverty, immorality and crime of any community is inextricably associated with the use of alcohol. (See report of the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, House, No. 2053, pp. 10–11, January, 1914.)

In 1894–95 the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics and Labor undertook a very extensive investigation of the relation of the liquor traffic to crime, public welfare and mental disease within the Commonwealth. Among other things the Bureau was directed to ascertain "the number of paupers whose present condition can be traced to the use or abuse of intoxicating liquors by themselves or by their parents, guardians or others." As a result, it was found that 39.44 per cent attributed their pauperism to their own intemperance, and another (approximately) 5 per cent to that of their parents, one or both. "Figures, no matter how accurately obtained, will vary considerably with various investigators, and in various localities, but it is safe to say that drink is responsible for from 35 to 50 per cent of the poverty existing today in this country." (Whittemore (1912), supra, p. 39.)

"Looking at the financial side of this problem we find that 50 per cent of the municipal expenditure for our police departments is simply for the arrest of the drunken population of cities. Nor does this include the expense of sheltering and caring for the same in prisons, penitentiaries and almshouses or other corrective charitable institutions, one third of their inmates on an average being either directly or indirectly of the inebriate class." (Lewis D. Mason, M.D. (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1904), "The Relation of the Pauper Inebriate to the Municipality and the State from an Economic Point of View," at p. 4.)

The United States Department of Justice, in 1930, reported that "25 to 30 per cent of the inmates in state poor houses indicate alcoholic history." (See Monologue entitled "Value of Law Observance," Department of Justice, 1930.)

"In 1899 the 'Committee of Fifty' (which scientifically studied the problems arising out of the liquor traffic) estimated that in the United States alcohol was responsible, directly or indirectly, for at least 25 per cent of all the poverty requiring relief by charitable organizations; for 37 per cent of all pauperism; and for 45.8 per cent of child destitution." (See Report of the Committee of Fifty, entitled "Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem," published in 1899.) This committee further found that "of every dollar given for relief of neglected or destitute children, 46 cents goes to care for the results of drink; 5,184 children were studied in this survey."

From a report of the Department of Justice (U. S.) on the "Cost of Crime," we get this: "Thus it is shown that alcohol is responsible for at least 25 per cent of the insane in the United States; for 40 per cent of the neglected or abandoned children in the United States; for 80 per cent of the jails and houses of correction of the United States; and 25 to 30 per cent of the inmates in state poor houses indicate alcoholic history as a basis for their being there." ("The Value of Law Observance," United States Department of Justice (1930).)

"Each investigation of the causes of poverty reveals that in from 10 to 20 per cent of the cases applying to public or private agencies for relief, the abuse of alcohol is an immediate cause of dependency." (Amos G. Warner, "American Charities," c. III; Committee of Fifty, "Economic Aspects of the Liquor Problem," cc. II, III, IV; Report of the Commission to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, House, No. 2053, January, 1914, pp. 10–11.)

"When the saloon was in flower, the records of the New York Charity Organizations Society showed that 1 out of every 4 families who applied for relief registered drink as a factor in dependence. In 1928–1929 the figures show only 1 of 11 families so handicapped." (Quoted in Senate Committee on Judiciary Hearings, April, 1932, p. 109.)

The Report of the Associated Charities, Boston (1910), states: "All but 2 of the 16 charities conferences of Boston give intemperance as the chief cause of non-support in the cases studied by them; 69 per cent of the 352 otherwise able-bodied men who failed to support their families which appealed for aid in 1910 to the Associated Charities were drunkards."

"The Chicago Juvenile Protective Association, in 1910 reported that 75 per cent of the cases of adult delinquency toward children has drunkenness as the chief cause of delinquency." The same association in 1912 reported that the survey of cases in the Chicago Court of Domestic Relations showed that "46 per cent of the unhappy homes owed their unhappiness to alcoholic drink."

In 1935 a study of 730 cases by the probation department, in the Domestic Relations Sessions of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, analyzed by Judge Zottoli, showed that 40 per cent of the "broken homes" dealt with by the justices of that court were broken by the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages by the husband or wife. The Report of the United States Department of Justice, for the year 1930, states: "Alcohol is responsible for at least 40 per cent of the neglected or abandoned children in the United States."

In 1909 the Special Report of the United States Census Bureau reports that "From 1887 to 1906 (twenty years) in the United States, drink was one cause of divorce in about 1 out of every 5 cases (19.5 per cent). It was the sole cause in 1 out of every 13 cases (7.7 per cent). It was directly or indirectly responsible for breaking up 184,568 homes, or about 9,228 broken homes for each year of that period. . . . Intemperance alone directly caused 36,516 divorces. . . . Nearly 80,000 homes involved children in their breaking up by drink."

The Committee on Alcoholism of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, in 1943, reports: "Earlier studies, notably those of the Committee of Fifty, in 1899, are quoted by the Encyclopedia of Social Science" as follows: "The connection between intemperance and poverty and dependence has always been recognized. . . . The Committee of Fifty attributed 25 per cent of the cases for relief, which came within the purview of the Charity Organization Society, to the use of alcohol, 18 per cent being due to its personal use. Of cases in almshouses and workhouses, 37 per cent owed their dependency to intemperance, and 32 per cent to personal use (12.7 per cent) of women owing their position to habits of others as against 6 per cent of men). Of the destitution of children, 45 per cent was attributed to the drinking habits of others."

What does all this evidence mean?

Here, again, it can mean only one thing, and that is, that there is a direct and basic causative relationship between alcoholism and a substantial part, — the human wreckage that makes necessary the services of state and municipal public welfare departments and private charitable institutions.

The cost of this service attributed to alcoholism is not and probably cannot be definitely known. There are remote effects which have not been adequately surveyed, if surveyed at all. Who knows, for instance, how many married women, abused and abandoned by drunken husbands, have turned prostitutes, acquired venereal diseases, and then spread their compliments abroad, necessitating hospitalization and idleness not only of themselves, but also of others whom they infected? Who knows

exactly how many children, undernourished and impoverished, and, perchance, of imbecilic mentality (it is said we have about 60,000 mentally deficient people in our State), come out of this heredity and environment, to be cared for by others than their parents?

A survey by the probation department of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, supervised and analyzed by Judge Zottoli, shows that indirect effects which stem out of alcoholism often are far more serious to the body politic than those which are directly connected with it. In this survey 230 cases of "idle and disorderly" and "common nightwalking" were carefully reviewed. Most of these cases were infected with venereal diseases. Eighty-five were single; 50 married, but not separated from their husbands; 40 were married but separated; 17 were divorced; 8 were widows. As to the rest, the status was unknown. Forty-one of these women had a total of 107 children. Thirty-two of these children were illegitimate, 42 of these women were "positive" medically. Twenty-five refused to be examined. You can draw your own inference why, . . . bearing in mind that a reformatory sentence usually follows in "positive cases."

The survey shows that 82 per cent of these reported that they owed their downfall directly or indirectly to alcoholic beverages. In the vast majority of cases the children become public charges, so, too, the women and their inebriate husbands.

Has any one followed all these leads through, accurately, to their ultimate conclusion? Is it possible to do so? We think not. But we do know this much from our survey, — that the criminal trends vary in the cases of "common nightwalkers" and "idle and disorderly" in about the same ratio as the arrests for drunkenness.

These trends were uncovered by the survey above referred to, but not surveyed in detail.

# $Cases \ of \ Common \ Nightwalkers.$

Total number of cases, 1908 to 1919, inclusive . Total number of cases, 1920 to 1930, inclusive .		•		4,404 858
Balance, in favor of the latter period		٠	٠	3,544
Cases of Idle and Disorderly Perso	ns.			
Total number of cases, 1908 to 1919, inclusive .	٠			2,476
Total number of cases, 1920 to 1930, inclusive .		•		1,756
Balance, in favor of the latter period			٠	720

Here is more evidence that "prevention" is better than cure, and that prohibition did have some beneficial effect.

The Prison Commissioner's Report for the year 1915 (page 68), in discussing activities of the Reformatory for Women, comments upon the venereal disease problem and its relationship to alcoholism, as viewed at that institution, in the following manner:

A special study has been made during the year of venereal disease and its relation to social conditions. Following are the results: During the year 14,000 treatments were given for gonorrhea and 185 patients were treated for syphilis. Of 500 women recently in the institution, 75 per cent were found to have gonorrhea, while 47 per cent had syphilis.

Among the women having gonorrhea the following conditions were found: 65 per cent of the cases had had pelvic inflammatory conditions, showing extention of the infection to the uterine adnexa; 20 per cent of the cases had already been operated on, on this account, while 21 per cent of the cases needed surgical treatment. The birth rate among the gonorrheics was found to be less than one half that found among the women not having gonorrhea. These two sequelæ of the disease, that is, the need for surgical intervention and the diminished birth rate, are factors of considerable importance in estimating the results which the majority of our women cause indirectly in the community. Among the different classes of women the proportion of venereal disease was found to vary, as follows:

	Gonorrhea (Per Cent).	Syphilis (Per Cent)
Alcoholics with no other offence	52.4	42.8
Alcoholics arrested also for other offences	70.2	46.8
Prostitutes	98.2	65.5
Women needing permanent segregation	90.8	61.3

The last percentages are an additional argument for the need of legislation to provide for the permanent custodial care of the mentally defective women, in order that so much actual disease may be permanently removed from the community.

# At page 69 of the same report is the following:

The high percentage of venereal disease among alcoholics shows the close association of alcoholism with immorality. The fact that 60 per cent of our alcoholics have also been arrested for offences of another nature increases the complexity of the problem. The same need for classification and segregation, however, applies in this class,—about 25 per cent of the alcoholic women should be permanently segregated,

while the majority of the remainder should be kept under careful supervision for a period of years, even if allowed to return to the community. This will be possible only with a true indeterminate sentence. The present sentence, in our opinion, is too short to allow any permanent "reform" to take place. (This report was made by Edith R. Spaulding, M.D. (Physician at the Reformatory for Women). See Pris. Com. Reports for 1915, at pp. 68 to 70, inclusive.)

This is only one phase of the indirect costs the community has to bear because of alcoholism. There are numerous others that come to mind.

But we must not diverge too far from the main subject we are considering. Let us get back to the subject of costs of pauperism due to inebriety, and again ask ourselves, what does all this evidence mean?

You will have noticed by the reports above set forth that many of these surveys vary considerably in the percentage of breakdowns alleged to be due to alcoholism. The low point is about 25 per cent, the high, about 47 per cent. Why this variation?

The reason probably lies in the fact that the various investigators have worked either from limited records or records that varied in their degree of accuracy. In some cases only direct relationships between alcoholism and poverty were recorded. Others considered only the indirect effects which were closely related and easily observable. Still others included more remote effects, which ordinarily might escape the less experienced observer.

We feel that a careful "overall" study will disclose that many of these surveys underestimate rather than overestimate the volume of pauperism caused by inebriety. We know from our own surveys that these indirect effects have not been traced properly. It is doubtful if under present conditions this can be done accurately. There are only meagre records and surveys of these remote effects in the penological and criminological fields. Conditions are no better in this regard in sociological and medical fields. To make matters worse, inebriates, rich, poor and indifferent, endeavor to hide these effects under a "false cover." Criminal and hospital records are cluttered with "aliases" of alcoholics who hope to escape "identity" and "status" by this method. Some of these inebriates have given scores of assumed names when arrested. Nor is the giving of false names anything new at welfare departments. That some succeed in hiding their past in this manner is best evidenced by the frequency of these occurrences. We have already referred to some of the indirect effects uncovered by the survey relating to "idle and disorderly" and "common nightwalking cases."

Another survey, also by the probation department of the said Municipal Court of the City of Boston, analyzed by Judge Zottoli, of 730 non-support cases brought before that court on complaints by and on behalf of 730 wives and 1,082 children, shows that 47 per cent of the "broken homes" were caused by alcohol, and that 303 of these "non-support" charges were directly "caused" by alcoholism. These are the homes that the underprivileged and delinquent children mostly come from, and that welfare departments are required to rescue.

Already we have briefly referred to the relationship between alcoholism and illegitimate children. The size of this problem may be inferred from the fact that our State cares for about 2,000 of this class annually, through the services of the Department of Public Welfare. This is no new problem. It was recognized by our State as early as 1825. (See c. 182, Acts of 1825, which made provision "for the reception, instruction, employment and reformation of juvenile offenders".)

The part that inebriety plays in the "costs of wrecked child-hood" can easily be inferred from the history of our legislation relating thereto, but this is a long story, and again we must not diverge too far into remoter fields.

Suffice to point out, for instance, that in 1914 there were 2,108 (or 2.3 per cent of all births) illegitimate births in our State; and that there were 2,863 children born out of wedlock "under the care of the Boston agencies." In that same year 7,526 children were under the temporary or prolonged care of the Division of State Minor Wards, of whom 1,721 were of illegitimate birth.

"Sixty-six per cent of the fathers were alcoholic, immoral, otherwise delinquent or of poor character. . . . The approximate amount spent during the year 1914 by the Commonwealth for the care of those 2,863 children born out of wedlock was \$124,000." (See Annual Report of the State Board of Charity (1914).) The Boston Municipal Court surveys above referred to have never been published, but they are available if wanted.

It is obvious that much more careful work will have to be done before any one will be able to state accurately what portion of the public welfare costs are due to the effects of alcohol. But again, this is not necessary for an intelligent appraisal of what that cost is. We now know from the studies that have been made that this loss is "rarely less than 25 per cent of the total cost of public welfare; and it may be as high as 47 per cent of it."

It therefore is not unreasonable to estimate on the basis of the lowest percentage practically all surveys agree upon, namely 25 per cent. Estimating on this basis, the results shown are sufficiently startling to cause alarm.

Take the cost of the services of the Department of Public Welfare of our State as an example. Here we find the budget estimates of that Department to be \$9,214,150 for the year 1944. (See c. 37, Acts of 1943.) If we adopt the findings from these surveys and apply them to the budget figures above referred to, it will appear that the minimum of \$2,303,537.50 is chargeable to inebriety.

The Annual Report of 1936 of the Department of Public Welfare (ending Nov. 30, 1936), at page 143, states that the funds laid out by the several cities and towns for all poor relief came to an aggregate of \$44,582,729.10. Of this sum, \$44,497,884.75 was ordinary outlay, or maintenance; the remainder, or \$84,844.35, was expended for sundry improvements, mostly at the city and town infirmaries.

Of the money expended for maintenance, \$2,485,514.26 was expended for infirmary care and \$1,573,798.85 for relief in other institutions. Care in private families took \$796,738.94, and relief in recipients' own homes, that is, outdoor poor relief, totaled \$26,553,575.13. The sum of \$7,168,225.23 was expended for Old Age Assistance, and \$3,198,794.49 for aid to mothers with dependent children.

The cost of administration, including salary and office expenses of the local public welfare boards, but exclusive of administration, came to \$2,721,237.55. The total receipts on account of ordinary expenditures were \$10,992,630.41; those classified as receipts on account of infirmaries, \$257,198.96; and all other, \$10,735,431.45. This latter portion of the receipts is made up mostly of reimbursements by cities and towns ultimately liable, and from state treasury in unsettled cases. Subtracting receipts leaves \$33,505,254.34 as the net ordinary outlay "for cost of poor relief" (p. 143).

If, as alleged, one third of these costs are due to inebriety, this would amount to \$8,376,313.58.

This situation was in 1936, about three years after "repeal," which was supposed to "bring back prosperity" to the cities and towns of our Commonwealth.

But this is only a small part of the story about the cost of public welfare due to inebriety.

The indirect effects on the community of the unreasonable use

of alcoholic beverages are greater than even the direct effects in many cases. This is especially noticeable from surveys relating to the expenditures of private charitable institutions. The observation made by the Committee on Alcoholism of the Boston Council of Social Agencies, in July, 1943, at page 20, illustrates this point. In its conclusion as to the cost of alcoholism to Massachusetts incorporated private charities, it points out that this cost is "Never less than one fourth of . . . that . . . expended for all purposes." The Scientific Temperance Journal, in its summer, 1944, issue, at page 60, points out that "From investigations made in the cities of York and Edinburgh, it is estimated that more than 25 per cent of poverty in working class districts is caused wholly or partly by drink; also, that drink is predominant as a cause of secondary poverty." (Condensed from the British Journal of Inebriety, London, England, Vol. 41, 1943.)

The problem here is much like that which relates to public charities. Here as there the "secondary poverty" arises from the fact that in most cases alcoholics misspend their earnings. That portion of their earnings which should have been set aside for the "rainy day" is squandered on alcohol. When that day appears, they have no savings to carry them through it, and usually no friends to help them in their adversity. Hence they and their dependents cast off their burdens and place them on to the charitable institutions.

How much the American public spends for the liquor it consumes is shown by the following Report of the American Business Men's Research Foundation of Chicago for the year 1942. This report also shows some of the effects of this use.

	1	942.					Gallons.
Consumption of all liquors (sp							2,247,082,910
Spirits (distilled liquors) .						۰	147,624,142
Beer					•		1,985,001,920
Wines							114,456,848
Per capita consumption of all							16.84
Alcoholic content of all liquor	S.	٠	٠	•	•	•	161,654,899.42
	19	942.					
Drink Bill:							

Liquor caused loss and waste to government and	
society, at least	\$4,000,000,000 00
Including liquor-bred crime	2,400,000,000 00
Liquor caused accidents	600,000,000 00
Cost of disease, lost earning power, and lowered	
living standard	1,000,000,000 00
Aggregate drink cost and waste to the United	
States	\$8,098,235,250 50
1942.	
1942.  Liquor trades "return" to the people of the United	
	\$1,215,174,000 08
Liquor trades "return" to the people of the United	\$1,215,174,000 08 250,000,000 00
Liquor trades "return" to the people of the United States Federal Internal Revenue from liquor	, ,
Liquor trades "return" to the people of the United States Federal Internal Revenue from liquor States and cities liquor income	250,000,000 00

\$2,965,174,000 08

Referring back to the cost of public welfare due to inebriety, it may be further observed that there is more to this story than has thus far appeared. Twenty-five peracent of these costs is due to alcoholism, to be sure. But here, again, this does not tell the whole story, for it is not only the inebriate that brings himself to this impecunious condition through his spending for alcoholic beverages, for many a so-called moderate drinker thus squanders money that should be set aside for days of adversity. When such conditions arrive, they, too, create quite a "hole" in the resources of charitable institutions. This latter loss is rarely, if ever, sufficiently surveyed; but that it is extensive cannot honestly be doubted, in view of the evidence bearing on this topic.

Assuming, but not conceding, that the cost of inebriety to private charitable institutions is only 25 per cent of that expended for all purposes by them, what does this come to in dollars and cents in our State?

The annual reports of our Department of Public Welfare, showing the annual intake and outlay of incorporated charitable institutions, gives a fair basis for an approximation of the expenditures of these institutions caused by inebriety. That these reports are at least reasonably reliable may be inferred from the fact that they are inspected by our state officials as provided by General Laws (Tercentenary Edition) chapter 121, section 7.

If we use the statistics of the year 1936 as an example, it will appear that 1,313 incorporated charitable institutions made re-

turns of their activities for that year. An analysis of these returns shows that the value of the real and personal property belonging to these 1,313 associations amounted to \$360,562,506. The total receipts for that year were \$101,839,484. If one fourth of this sum which was substantially all expended for "all purposes," was due to inebriety, that would represent an outlay of \$25,459,731 thus caused.

If we compare the "returns" of incorporated charities for the year 1930 in our Commonwealth, as a spot check, we will find that 1,185 such associations reported the total property value owned by them to be \$315,539,069.33. The total receipts for the year were reported to be \$108,854,935.86. One quarter of this sum would come to \$27,213,733.96. These expenditures do not include anything for capital expenditures.

Again, this tells only part of the story relating to the costs of private charities due to alcoholism; for besides these incorporated charities there are large numbers of unincorporated lav and religious charities which do not report their doings to the Commonwealth. How much of the money collected for charitable purposes by these organizations reach that objective is not generally known. Nor does it appear how much is received for this purpose by these associations. Experience teaches that the sums thus collected are greater than most people conceive them to be. There is no means of knowing, at the hands of the public, what part of these funds are expended to rescue work caused by inebriety. Perchance it may serve a useful purpose to require those who collect from the public to report the expenditure of such funds to the public. We venture to say from the experience gained from an investigation conducted by the police department in the year 1934, in which Judge Zottoli was assigned to hear evidence relating to several complaints charging receiving money under false pretences, that at least some of these associations would have a difficult time showing that the expenditures of such funds were for "charitable purposes."

However, we must not stray too far afield — suffice to say that, everything considered, the observation that one fourth of the total expenditures by these associations is caused by inebriety is not an overstatement.

We could continue at considerable length, expounding the relationship between inebriety and breakdown in other phases of our social fabric. There is reliable evidence that not 25 per cent but, rather, 45.8 per cent of the cases of neglected children are due to alcoholism. (There were 800 such children under the care

of the Child Welfare Division in Boston in January, 1935.) (See 1935 Child Welfare Division of Boston Report.)

There is also evidence that 37 per cent of the hospital pauperism is due to alcoholism and not 25 per cent. Boston has about 3,000 persons a year at Long Island Hospital and State Infirmary, an institution for paupers. (See "Handbook of Modern Facts about Alcohol," Cora Frances Stoddard, American Issue Publishing Co., 1914, p. 95.) There is also evidence that 46.6 per cent of the feeble-minded are born of drunken parents. (*Ibid.*, p. 13.)

# Chapter XXVI.

### OTHER LOSSES DUE TO INEBRIETY.

There is evidence that 68 per cent of the cost of sex diseases is "born from drunken debauchery." (Some authors say as high as 90 per cent.) There is evidence that there is a considerable loss caused by "drunken hangovers" in industrial life, leading to absenteeism and losses due to industrial accidents caused by alcoholism. There also is evidence that alcoholism augments the ravages of mental diseases to an extent that insanity results by the combined action of both, whereas it would not have resulted if inebriety had not been an operating factor.

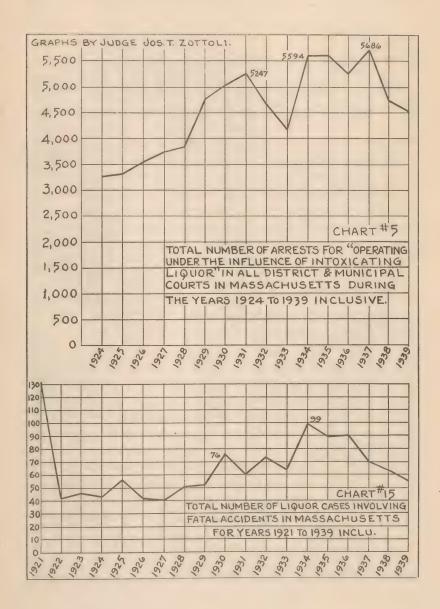
There is much evidence that inebriety causes numerous accidents outside of industrial pursuits. The losses due to drinkers driving serve to illustrate this point. A survey by Judge Zottoli in 1940 indicates that these losses are severe. A few charts from this survey will tell the story more quickly than pages of written matter.

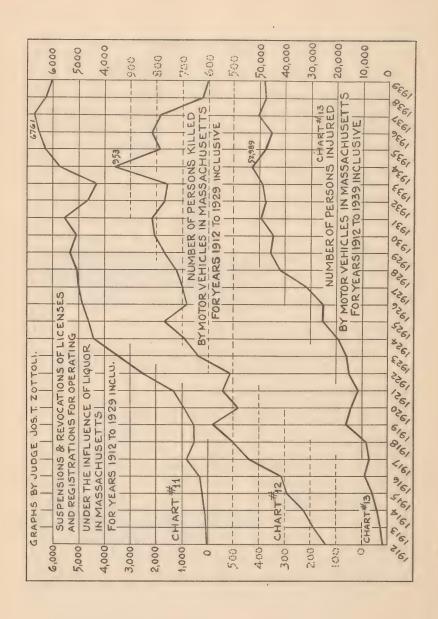
See charts 5, 11, 12, 13, and 15. These charts show a volume of deaths and injury that should cause concern.

A comparison of chart 5 with chart 11 shows that the "arrests for operating under the influence of liquor" do not accurately portray the number of operators who are so "driving;" for example, the "suspensions" for the year 1939 totaled 6,002, while the arrests for that offence totaled only 4,513. Evidently, the inspectors of the Registry of Motor Vehicles caught 1,489 more than the police so operating. How one may escape being caught no one knows. How many of the 48,275 persons injured (see chart 13) were under the influence of liquor, no one knows.

Chart 12 shows the number of persons killed yearly by motor vehicles in our State from 1912 to 1939, inclusive. Does anybody know how many of these persons were under the influence of liquor when killed? Moreover, does anybody know the extent of the property damage caused by persons operating under the influence of liquor? Does any one know what the cost of the insurance comes to, that is chargeable to these conditions?

"Official reports show that in 1 out of every 5 fatal accidents during 1939 a driver or a pedestrian was reported as having been





drinking. One in every 7 pedestrians and 1 in every 9 drivers were reported as drinking prior to becoming involved in fatal accidents." (Donald S. Berry, Ph.D., Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 415.)

Compare Report of Commissioners to Investigate Drunkenness in Massachusetts, House, No. 2053, 1914, p. 10: "We are convinced from available data that the annual cost to the State by the loss of labor resulting from premature deaths, from preventable disease, and from accidents occasioned by intemperate use of alcohol amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars." (Cf. Jetter, W. W., Clinics, 1:1467 (1943).)

Moreover, there is evidence of the depreciation in the value of 13,666 human beings wrecked through alcoholism, — inmates of state penal and mental institutions of our Commonwealth. (See 1934 Report of Department of Mental Diseases of Massachusetts, p. 223.) In addition to this the loss caused by the depreciation resulting from personal injury due to inebriety must be considered. In addition to the deaths due to "drunken driving," there are about 300 deaths from alcoholism each year that call for appraisal of the loss caused thereby. Does any one know what this loss amounts to? (See "The Problem of Alcoholism in the Courts," by Judge Zottoli, 1938.)

There is evidence that there probably are more than 20,000 chronic alcoholics in our Commonwealth. (See Special Report of the Department of Mental Health, House, No. 1276 — 1943, hereinbefore referred to.) Does any one know the economic loss incurred by the breakdown of this latter group? Some idea of this may be had from a survey by Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, formerly Director, Mental Hygiene Statistics, New York State Department of Mental Health, New York, 1941. He is quoted as placing this loss at \$6,899 for each first court admission to a hospital for the mentally ill. If we apply that ratio of loss to the first court admissions to our hospitals we can approximate the loss in our State. The average yearly number of first court admissions for the years 1935 to 1943, inclusive, for alcoholic psychosis to the Massachusetts state hospitals was 444. The loss on the above basis would be \$3,063,156. Does any one know what the economic loss amounted to for the balance of the 20,000 chronics above referred to? Is there any doubt that the total sum of the unchartered losses above referred to amounts to uncounted millions of dollars?

From the evidence we now have we venture to say that some day the people of this Commonwealth will awaken to the fact

that the sum total of these uncharted losses alone will out-balance by far the total revenue which Massachusetts and her cities and towns receive from alcoholic beverages. In 1943 the total revenue received from alcoholic beverages by the State and her cities and towns was \$13,139,266.79 according to the records of the Distilled Spirits Institute, Inc., page 24. This figure is in substantial accord with the information received by the Commission from our State Department of Corporations and Taxation.

If we add the totals of the approximated losses shown by the various segments discussed, we will find that a yearly grand total loss of about \$46,474,953.74 reasonably can be charged to alcoholism as a minimum sum. A more accurate survey would probably find the actual loss to be about 10 per cent higher than this figure.

# Chapter XXVII.

REMEDIAL AND PREVENTIVE MEASURES DISCUSSED.

This should be enough evidence to prove that a change in the present system is needed if we are to decrease the volume of human wreckage that flows from the system we are now operating. We must find some way which will better prevent the moderate drinker from degenerating into the intemperate drinker; he, from becoming a chronic drinker; and the latter, from degenerating into a state of insanity. From all the evidence before us it is apparent that we are now suffering from a combination of surrounding circumstances, which, if not checked, will continue to give us the unwanted effects of the license system which was ended by the passage of the 18th Amendment.

The war we are now involved in has created conditions which, to a slight extent, has checked the supply of some alcoholic beverages. Before the effects of this World War were felt, the consumption of alcoholic beverage was increasing "by leaps and bounds," and so, too, were its attendant evils. The records of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston, for 1944, will show an increase of arrests for drunkenness and its related crimes over the totals for 1943.

The "dock" of this court is beginning to look more like an emergency station back of the "front lines" than it has ever looked since the year 1940. In short, practically all the conditions which existed before the passage of the 18th Amendment are with us now, except the diminution of the "supply" above referred to. When the war ends, and the supply increases, we can reasonably expect an increased flow of human wreckage to the prison, the poorhouse, the hospital and the morgue. We can also expect a further impairment of the child's birthright to be well born, well cared for, and well trained.

How are we to better check these unwanted results? We believe that the progress of scientific research has now reached a point where proof beyond reasonable doubt exists that preventive measures are far more effective than so-called "cures." This is also the opinion of others who have given thought to the question. (Cf. Orpheus Everts, M.D., "What Shall We do With the Drunkard?" (1883); Seliger, R.V., 5th Med. Surg. 104; 563—

567 (1942); see, also, "Medico-Legal Notes," Quart. J. Std. Alc., Vol. I, 372.)

The progress made by science is now sufficient to make it clear that intemperance must be prevented before the chronic stage has been reached if the ill effects suffered by all concerned from that point on are to be arrested to any substantial degree. Scientists now substantially agree as to what alcohol is and what it does to the human structure. That alcohol is a narcotic poison, no one can seriously challenge. That it can and does impair and destroy human tissue, brain cells and nerves, when intemperately taken, is now beyond dispute. That there is no specific cure for inebriety and alcoholic psychosis also now is well established.

The value of temperance is conceded by all, including the liquor industry. There is no sane minority to be convinced of this truth.

The question, then, narrows to the practical one, — how may intemperance be best prevented? We have carefully examined the several alternatives which are open to the State to alter present conditions. We have considered the measures taken in the past to lessen the effects which follow the intemperate use of alcoholic beverages. Almost every conceivable measure that human ingenuity could invent has been tried, only to be nullified by the fraud and corruption of avaricious leeches upon society. This nullification has been possible because the methods applied did not meet the dictates of public opinion. It is clear from past history that any measure adopted to better conditions flowing out of the immoderate use of alcoholic beverages must meet with the approval of public opinion in order to succeed. Probibition failed because it lacked this approval, rightfully or wrongfully. So, too, other methods failed, either because of this fact, or because they did not prevent the use of alcoholic liquor by intemperates. Experience teaches that all methods which permit immoderate use are only palliatives. Leniency in the "early stages" of intemperance spells defeat in the prevention of addiction. This truth cannot be repeated too often.

It follows that if degeneration to the stage of irreversible addiction is to be prevented, a system must be found which strikes at intemperance at its early stages. On this point there can be no compromise. At this stage the alcohol must be kept from the person who "abuses its use," or he must be kept away from alcohol, until he is able to control its use properly. This means either self-imposed restriction or enforced temporary or permanent prohibition for the intemperate user. There is no other course to follow, if degeneration to the chronic state is to be prevented.

Under our present system we endeavor to prevent this degeneration by arresting the offender and then releasing him when he has sobered up. We repeat this process until he has become an addict. Then, perchance, we imprison him and thus separate him from the offending liquor. The personal charts show that he gradually disintegrates to the chronic state, and very often goes down from that condition to insanity. We here append typical charts which show what actually happens in these cases. They have been compiled from official records; moreover, these cases have been observed by Judge Zottoli and studied as they made their appearances before him in court.

About 250 such charts were made and are available. They tell the story better than any form of words. The picture they present is startling. They are worth careful study, as they show how ineffective our present system is to curb intemperance, and what usually happens to the intemperate user.

180-	Z	FEMA	LE	BORN	1872			CHAR	T BY J	UDGE .	J. T. ZO	TTOL
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1903												-
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1911				F	S.	E					Ş.F.	
1912	<b>A</b>	S	F			4	. jvi	H.C		I-M	PH	G.S
1913		/////	1/64/	\$///		S	F			S		
1914		P			14///	G///	80111		F	S.	F	
1915	F	RELR	- S.	E		2-14			S.F.			
1916	H.C		5	S.	E		2-M		3-M	H.C.		5 3
1917		5. F		P	5	VRR.	5. F.			2 M		SJ
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1931												
1932												
1933							4////					
1934		11/1/1/									11/1/1	01/1
1935			AT	RAF	TON	STA	TEH	05P1	TAL			
1936					444	29-19	11111		7////		11/1/11	11/
1937							11///			11/1/1	11.1	117
1938								4///			11/1/	11/1
1939										/////	777	777
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1944												

### PERSONAL CHART 180-Z.

# Penological Record.

Female; born in 1872; two aliases; lived in Springfield for awhile, but mostly in low-cost housing areas of Boston.

Apr.   4, 1909	Long record in Sp	ringfield also: —	-		
June 14, 1909 " " " 30 dys.  July 14, 1909 " " " 6 nfile  Mar. 28, 1910 " Springfield 30 dys.  May 4, 1910 " Central 8-24 On file  Mar. 28, 1910 " St. Farm  May 12, 1911 " " St. Farm  May 12, 1911 " " St. Farm  Jan. 19, 1912 " " 4 mos. H.C.  Oct. 41, 1912 " " 4 mos. H.C.  Oct. 41, 1912 " " 1 mo. H.C.  Nov. 8, 1912 " " 1 mo. H.C.  Nov. 1913 " " Prob. HGS 9-9-14 Dism.  Sept. 14, 1914 " " Prob. HGS 9-9-14 Dism.  Sept. 14, 1914 " " Prob. HGS 9-9-14 Dism.  Sept. 14, 1915 " " St. Farm  Jan. 2, 1915 " " St. Farm  Jan. 2, 1915 " " St. Farm  July 16, 1915 " " St. Farm  July 16, 1915 " " 2 mos. H.C.  July 16, 1915 " " St. Farm  July 16, 1915 " " St. Farm  Jan. 2, 1916 " " 2 mos. H.C.  St. Farm  Prob. 10-17-17 HGS  Aug. 2, 1916 " " Sur. " St. Farm  Apr. 23, 1917 " Sur. " St. Farm  Apr. 23, 1917 " Sur. " St. Farm  Apr. 23, 1917 " Sur. " St. Farm  Aug. 5, 1918 N.W. " 1 mo. jail  Fleb. 20, 1919 DK " " 10 no. jail  Fleb. 20, 1919 DK " " 10 no. jail  Fleb. 20, 1919 DK " " 9-28 On file  Sept. 23, 1920 DK " 9-28 On file  Sept. 23, 1920 DK " 9-28 On file  Sept. 23, 1920 DK " 9-28 N.Farm  St. Farm					30 dys.
July 14, 1909	May 6, 1909	6.6	**		\$5. com.
Jay 18, 1909         "Central         8-24         On file           Mar. 28, 1910         "Springfield         30 dys.           May 4, 1910         "Central         60 days           July 26, 1910         "St. Farm           May 12, 1911         "St. Farm           July 26, 1910         "St. Farm           May 12, 1911         "St. Farm           Jan. 19, 1912         "May 29, 1912           Oct. 4, 1912         "May 25, 1913           May 25, 1913         "St. Farm           May 25, 1913         "St. Farm           Aug. 30, 1913         "May 25, 1913           Mar. 1, 1914         "St. Farm           Sept. 14, 1914         "St. Farm           Sept. 18, 1916         "St. Farm           July 16, 1915         "St. Farm           July 16, 1915         "St. Farm           July 16, 1915         "St. Farm           July 16, 1916         "St. Farm	June 14, 1909	4.6	4.4		
Mar. 28, 1910  May 4, 1910  May 4, 1910  May 12, 1911  Oct. 17, 1911  May 29, 1912  Oct. 4, 1912  May 29, 1912  Oct. 4, 1912  May 25, 1913  Mar. 1, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 14, 1915  Sept. 14, 1915  Sept. 14, 1916  Sept. 15, 1916  Sept. 16, 1915  Sept. 17, 1917  Sept. 18, 1916  Mar. 19, 1917  May 13, 1917  Sept. 19, 1917  Sept. 17, 1917	July 14, 1909	4.4	4.4		On file
May 4, 1910  May 12, 1911  Oct. 17, 1911  Jan. 19, 1912  May 13, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 25, 1914  May 13, 1915  Dec. 19, 1915  May 13, 1916  Dec. 19, 1916  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1917  Dec. 19, 1916  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1917  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1917  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1917  May 14, 1918  May 15, 1918  May 16, 1916  May 18, 1917  May 18, 1918  May 24, 1919  May 30, 1921  May 40, 1929  May 30, 1921  May 40, 1929  May 40,	Aug. 22, 1909	6.6	Central	8-24	On file
May 12, 1910	Mar. 28, 1910	4.4	Springfield		30 dys.
May 12, 1911	May 4, 1910	4.6			60 days
May   12, 1911	July 26, 1910	41	6.6		St. Farm
Man. 19, 1912	May 12, 1911	6.6	"		File; ret. St. Farm
May 29, 1912 Oct. 4, 1912 Oct. 1, 1912 Oct. 1, 1913 Oct. 1, 1914 Oct. 1, 1915 Oct. 1, 1916 Oct. 1, 1916 Oct. 1, 1916 Oct. 1, 1916 Oct. 1, 1917 Oct. 1, 1918 Oct.	Oct. 17, 1911		4.4		St. Farm
May 28, 1912	Jan. 19, 1912	14	14		4. 1.
Nov. 8, 1912  May 25, 1913  Aug. 30, 1913  Mar. 1, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 25, 1914  """  """  """  """  """  """  """	May 29, 1912	4.4	4.4		4 mos. H.C.
May 25, 1913 Aug. 30, 1913 Mar. 1, 1914 Sept. 14, 1914 Sept. 12, 1915 Sur. Sur. Sur. Sur. Sur. Sur. Sur. Sur.	Oct. 4, 1912	1.4	4.4		1 mo. H.C.
May 29, 1913       St. Farm         Aug. 30, 1913       " " " " Prob. HGS 9-9-14 Dism.         Mar. 1, 1914       " " " On file         Sept. 25, 1914       " " On file         " " Sur. " St. Farm         Jan. 2, 1915       " " St. Farm         May 13, 1915       " 2 mos. H.C.         July 16, 1915       " 2 mos. H.C.         Dec. 19, 1915       " 2 mos. H.C.         Feb. 26, 1916       " " St. Farm         June 22, 1916       " " St. Farm         June 22, 1916       " " St. Farm         Aug. 26, 1916       " West Roxbury       3 mos. H.C.         Nov. 28, 1916       " Central       15 dys. H.C.         Dec. 12, 1916       " St. Farm       Prob. 10-17-17 HGS         Apr. 19, 1917       " Str. St. Farm         Apr. 23, 1917       " Sur. " St. Farm         Sept. 17, 1917       " Sur. " St. Farm         Nov. 20, 1917       " Sur. " St. Farm         Nov. 20, 1917       " Sur. " St. Farm         Nag. 1, 1918       Released on parole; to expire 1-1-19         Aug. 5, 1918       Dk       Central         Aug. 5, 1918       Dk       Central         Aug. 1919       DK       " St. Farm         Feb. 20, 1919       D	Nov. 8, 1912	4.6	4.4		Pr. 5-21-13 HGS
Mar. 1, 1914  Mar. 1, 1914  Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 25, 1914  """  "Sur. ""  Sur. ""  St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  Apr. 19, 1916  """  Apr. 19, 1917  Apr. 23, 1917  """  Sur. """  St. Farm  Prob. 10-17-17 HGS  St. Farm	May 25, 1913	6.6			St. Farm
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Sept. 14, 1914  Sept. 25, 1914  """  Sept. 25, 1914  """  Jan. 2, 1915  """  Way 13, 1915  July 16, 1915  Dec. 19, 1915  Mar 18, 1916  June 22, 1916  Aug. 26, 1916  """  Sept. 25, 1914  """  Apr. 23, 1917  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sept. 26, 1916  """  Sur. """  Sept. 27, 1919  Dec. 19, 1915  """  Sur. ""  Sur. """  Sur. ""  Sur. """  Sur. ""  Sur. """  Sur. ""  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sur. """  Sur. ""  Sur. ""	Mar. 1, 1914		4.4		Prob. HGS 9-9-14 Dism.
Sept. 20, 1914   "Sur. " St. Farm   File; ret. St. Farm   Jan. 2, 1915   " St. Farm   File; ret. St. Farm	Sept. 14, 1914	**	44		Probation 3-24-15
Jan. 2, 1915  May 13, 1915  May 13, 1915  Dec. 19, 1915  Dec. 19, 1915  Mar. 18, 1916  June 22, 1916  May 13, 1916  May 13, 1915  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  May 24, 1919  Dec. 12, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  May 24, 1919  Dec. 12, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 19, 1917  Mar. 19, 1917  Mar. 19, 1917  Mar. 19, 1917  Mar. 23, 1917  Mar. 23, 1917  Mar. 30, 1918  Mar. 30, 1918  Mar. 30, 1918  Mar. 30, 1918  May 24, 1919  Dec. 6, 1919  Dec. 12, 1919  Dec. 12, 1916  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  Dec. 12, 1916  May 24, 1916  May 24, 1916  May 24, 1916  May 24, 191	Sept. 25, 1914	6.6	4.6		On file
May 13, 1915  May 13, 1915  May 13, 1915  May 13, 1915  Dec. 19, 1915  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 21, 1916  May 22, 1916  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  Dec. 12, 1919  May 3, 1917  May 25, 1918  May 26, 1916  May 26, 1916  May 27, 1919  May 27, 1919  May 3, 1922  Dec. 19, 1915  May 3, 1915  May 3, 1916  May 3, 1917  May 3, 1917  May 4, 1919  May 3, 1917  May 4, 1919  May 3, 1917  May 4, 1919  May 3, 1918  May 4, 1919  May 3, 1919  May 3, 1919  May 4, 1919  May 3, 1919  May 4, 1919  May 5, 1918  May 6, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 24, 1919  May 1, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 3, 1920  May 4, 1919  May 4, 1919  May 4, 1919  May 5, 1918  May 6, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 1, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 3, 1920  May 4, 1919  May 6, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 1, 1918  May 24, 1919  May 1, 1919  May 24, 1919  May 1, 1918  May 24, 1919  May 1, 1918  May 24, 1919  May	46 66	" Sur.	4.6		St. Farm
May 13, 1915	Jan. 2, 1915	6.6	6.6		File; ret. St. Farm
Dec. 19, 1915 Dec. 19, 1915 Feb. 26, 1916 Mar. 18, 1916 Mar. 18, 1916 Mar. 18, 1916 Mar. 18, 1916 Mar. 22, 1916 Mar. 23, 1916 May. 26, 1916 Meyer Roxbury Me	May 13, 1915	4.4	4.6		2 mos. H.C.
Dec. 19, 1915	July 16, 1915				St. Farm
Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mar. 18, 1916  Mug. 26, 1916  Mug. 27, 1919  Mug. 27, 1919  Mug. 27, 1912  Mug. 30, 1921  Mug. 31, 1921  Mug. 4, 1922  Mug. 7, 1924  Mug. 1, 110, 120, 12, 120, 12, 120, 120, 120	Dec. 19, 1915				2 mos. H.C.
Mar. 18, 1916	Feb. 26, 1916	6.6	6.4		15 dys. J
Aug. 26, 1916  Nov. 28, 1916  Dec. 12, 1916  Apr. 19, 1917  Apr. 23, 1917  Sur.  Sept. 17, 1917  Nov. 20, 1917  Feb. 25, 1918  Mar. 30, 1918  Dk  Central  Dc  St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  Aug. 1, 1918  Aug. 5, 1918  Dk  Central  Dc  Central  Dc  St. Farm  Feb. 20, 1919  Central  Dc  St. Farm  Aug. 4, 1919  DK  Central  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  Aug. 5, 1918  Dk  Central  Central  Dc  St. Farm  St. Farm  Aug. 5, 1918  Dc  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  File; ret. St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK  Sur.  Sept. 3, 1921  DK  Central  St. Farm  St. Fa	Mar. 18, 1916	4.1			St. Farm
Nov. 28, 1916  Nov. 28, 1916  Nov. 28, 1916  Oec. 12, 1916  Apr. 19, 1917  Apr. 23, 1917  Sur.  St. Farm  Sept. 17, 1917  Nov. 20, 1917  NW.  St. Farm  Aug. 1, 1918  Released on parole; to expire 1-1-19  Aug. 5, 1918  Dk  Central  St. Farm SS; pr. 6-4-19  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK  St. Farm SS; pr. 6-4-19  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK  St. Farm  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK  St. Farm  Aug. 24, 1919  DK  Sur.  St. Farm  St. Farm	June 22, 1916		44		2 mos. H.C.
Dec. 12, 1916 Dec. 12, 1916 Apr. 19, 1917 Apr. 23, 1917 Sept. 17, 1917 Confidence of the probability of the	Aug. 26, 1916	4.4	West Roxbury		3 mos. H.C.
Apr. 19, 1917 Apr. 23, 1917     "    "    "    "    "    "	Nov. 28, 1916				15 dys. H.C.
Apr. 23, 1917 Apr. 23, 1917 Sept. 17, 1917 Nov. 20, 1917 Teb. 25, 1918 Mar. 30, 1918 Aug. 5, 1918 Dk Central Dec. 6, 1918 Teb. 20, 1919 DK Teb. 20, 1919 Teb. 10-11 Teb.	Dec. 12, 1916				St. Farm
Sept. 17, 1917  Nov. 20, 1917  """  Sept. 17, 1917  NW. ""  St. Farm  I mo. jail  File; ret. St. Farm  Aug. 1, 1918  Aug. 5, 1918  Dk  Central  Dec. 6, 1918  """  St. Farm SS; pr. 6-4-19  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK Sur. Central  St. Farm  May 24, 1919  DK  ""  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  ""  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  ""  St. Farm  St. Farm  Aug. 5, 1918  DK  ""  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK  ""  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  ""  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  ""  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  ""  St. Farm  Frob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  ""  Sept. 23, 1920  DK  ""  Sept. 3, 1921  Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22  Sept. 11, 1921  DK  Central  DK  ""  St. Farm  From  Frob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 11, 1921  DK  Central  St. Farm  From  Fr	Apr. 19, 1917				Prob. 10-17-17 HGS
Sept. 17, Nov. 20, 1917	Apr. 23, 1917	Dui.			St. Farm
Feb. 25, 1918   Mar. 30, 1918   Aug. 1, 1918   Aug. 5, 1918   Dk	Sept. 17, 1917				2 mos. H.C.
Mar. 30, 1918  Mar. 30, 1918  Aug. 5, 1918  Dk  Central  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK Sur.  Central  June 27, 1919  DK  "  "  "  Suppose 24, 1920  DK  "  Suppose 25, 1920  DK  "  Suppose 26, 1920  DK  "  Suppose 27, 1922  DK  "  Suppose 28, 1920  DK  "  Suppose 29, 1922  DK  "  Suppose 29, 1924  D	Nov. 20, 1917	4.4			St. Farm
Aug. 1, 1918	Feb. 25, 1918	N.W.			
Aug.         5, 1918         Dk         Central         3 mos. H.C.           Dec.         6, 1918         "         "         St. Farm SS; pr. 6-4-19           Feb.         20, 1919         DK Sur.         Central         St. Farm           May 24, 1919         DK         "         1 mo. jail           June 27, 1919         DK         "         Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21           Sept. 23, 1920         DK         "         9-28         On file           Sept. 23, 1920         DK         "         9-28         St. Farm           Mar. 30, 1921         DK         "         4-4         St. Farm           Sept. 3, 1921         Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22         Sept. 11, 1921         DK         Central         9-14         File; ret. St. Farm           Jan. 4, 1922         DK         "         1-11         St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22           Apr. 23, 1922         DK Sur.         "         4-27         File           Aug. 2, 1922         DK         "         4-27         File           Aug. 7, 1922         DK         "         8-7         Prob. 2-7-23           Aug. 7, 1922         DK         So. Boston         St. Farm	Mar. 30, 1918	Dk	4.4		File; ret. St. Farm
Dec. 6, 1918  Feb. 20, 1919  Feb. 20, 1919  DK Sur. Central  St. Farm SS; pr. 6-4-19  On file  Feb. 20, 1919  DK Sur. Central  St. Farm  May 24, 1919  DK  Ino. jail  File; ret. St. Farm  Fieb. 24, 1920  DK  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  9-28  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  4-4  St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  4-4  St. Farm  St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  4-4  St. Farm  St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  4-4  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  4-4  St. Farm  St. Farm  St. Farm  Sept. 3, 1921  DK  Central  9-14  File; ret. St. Farm  Jan. 4, 1922  DK  4-27  File  Aug. 2, 1922  DK  8-7  Prob. 2-7-23  Aug. 7, 1922  DK  So. Boston  St. Farm	Aug. 1, 1918	Released on	parole; to expire	1-1-19	
Feb. 20, 1919	Aug. 5, 1918				
Feb. 20, 1919  May 24, 1919  DK  "  I mo. jail  June 27, 1919  DK  "  Feb. 24, 1920  DK  "  Sept. 23, 1920  DK  "  Sept. 3, 1921  Sept. 3, 1921  Sept. 11, 1921  Joh  Tel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22  Sept. 11, 1921  Joh  Central  9-14  File; ret. St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 3, 1920  DK  "  4-4  St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK  "  4-4  St. Farm  Sept. 3, 1921  Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22  Sept. 11, 1921  Joh  Central  9-14  File; ret. St. Farm  Jan. 4, 1922  DK  "  1-11  St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22  Apr. 23, 1922  DK  "  4-27  File  Aug. 2, 1922  DK  "  4-27  File  No. 2-7-23  Aug. 7, 1922  DK  So. Boston  St. Farm	Dec. 6, 1918				
May 24, 1919 DK " 1 mo. jail June 27, 1919 DK " File; ret. St. Farm Feb. 24, 1920 DK " 9-28 On file Sept. 23, 1920 DK " 9-28 St. Farm Mar. 30, 1921 DK " 4-4 St. Farm Sept. 3, 1921 Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22 Sept. 11, 1921 DK Central 9-14 File; ret. St. Farm Jan. 4, 1922 DK " 1-11 St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22 Apr. 23, 1922 DK " 4-27 File Aug. 7, 1922 DK " 8-7 Prob. 2-7-23 Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm	Feb. 20, 1919	4.4	6.6		On file
May 24, 1919  June 27, 1919  DK  "Feb. 24, 1920  DK  "Bile; ret. St. Farm  Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  "9-28  On file  Sept. 23, 1920  DK Sur.  "4-4  St. Farm  Mar. 30, 1921  DK  Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22  Sept. 11, 1921  DK  Central  9-14  File; ret. St. Farm  Jan. 4, 1922  DK  "1-11  St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22  Apr. 23, 1922  DK Sur.  Apr. 23, 1922  DK  "4-27  File  Aug. 2, 1922  DK  "8-7  Prob. 2-7-23  Aug. 7, 1922  DK  So. Boston  St. Farm	Feb. 20, 1919				
Sept. 24, 1920   DK   "   Prob. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21	May 24, 1919	DK			
Feb. 24, 1920       DK       " 9-28       Feb. 9-1-20; ext. 2-23-21         Sept. 23, 1920       DK       " 9-28       On file         Sept. 23, 1920       DK       " 9-28       St. Farm         Mar. 30, 1921       DK       " 4-4       St. Farm         Sept. 3, 1921       Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22         Sept. 11, 1921       DK       Central       9-14       File; ret. St. Farm         Jan. 4, 1922       DK       " 1-11       St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22         Apr. 23, 1922       DK Sur.       " St. Farm         Apr. 23, 1922       DK       " 4-27       File         Aug. 2, 1922       DK       " 8-7       Prob. 2-7-23         Aug. 7, 1922       DK       So. Boston       St. Farm	June 27, 1919				
Sept. 23, 1920 DK	Feb. 24, 1920	DK			
Sept. 23, 1920       DK Sur.       9-28       5-28       Farm         Mar. 30, 1921       DK       " 4-4       St. Farm         Sept. 3, 1921       Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22         Sept. 11, 1921       DK       Central       9-14       File; ret. St. Farm         Jan. 4, 1922       DK       " 1-11       St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22         Apr. 23, 1922       DK Sur.       " 5t. Farm         Aug. 2, 1922       DK       " 4-27       File         Aug. 7, 1922       DK       " 8-7       Prob. 2-7-23         Aug. 7, 1922       DK       So. Boston       St. Farm	Sept. 23, 1920	DK		9-28	
Sept. 3, 1921 Sept. 3, 1921 Rel. parole St. Farm; Parole Exp. 4-3-22 Sept. 11, 1921 DK Central 9-14 File; ret. St. Farm Jan. 4, 1922 DK " 1-11 St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22 Apr. 23, 1922 DK " 4-27 File Aug. 2, 1922 DK " 8-7 Prob. 2-7-23 Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm	Sept. 23, 1920				
Sept. 11, 1921     DK     Central     9-14     File; ret. St. Farm       Jan. 4, 1922     DK     " 1-11     St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22       Apr. 23, 1922     DK Sur.     " 5t. Farm       Apr. 23, 1922     DK     " 4-27     File       Aug. 2, 1922     DK     " 8-7     Prob. 2-7-23       Aug. 7, 1922     DK     So. Boston     St. Farm	Mar. 30, 1921				
Jan. 4, 1922       DK       "       1-11       St. Farm SS; pr. 7-12-22         Apr. 23, 1922       DK Sur.       "       St. Farm         Apr. 23, 1922       DK       "       4-27       File         Aug. 2, 1922       DK       "       8-7       Prob. 2-7-23         Aug. 7, 1922       DK       So. Boston       St. Farm	Sept. 3, 1921	_			
Apr. 23, 1922 DK "St. Farm St. Farm Apr. 23, 1922 DK "4–27 File Aug. 2, 1922 DK "8–7 Prob. 2–7–23 Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm					
Apr. 23, 1922 DK " 4–27 File Aug. 2, 1922 DK " 8–7 Prob. 2–7–23 Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm	Jan. 4, 1922			1-11	
Apr. 23, 1922 DK 4-27 File  Aug. 2, 1922 DK 8-7 Prob. 2-7-23  Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm					
Aug. 7, 1922 DK So. Boston St. Farm					
	Aug. 2, 1922			8-7	
Dec. 8, 1922 Rel. parole from St. Farm; exp. 5-7-23	Aug. 7, 1922				
	Dec. 8, 1922	Rel. parole f	rom St. Farm; ex	p. 5–7–23	

Mar. 27, 1923	DK	Central	3-31	File; ret. St. Farm
Aug. 17, 1923	DK	4.4	8-21	SF ss 2-20-24 prob.
Aug. 17, 1923	DK	4.6	9-7	On file
Aug. 17, 1923	DK Sur.	46	9-7	St. Farm
Jan. 21, 1924	DK	4.6	1-22	File; ret. St. Farm
May 22, 1924	Rel. Parole	St. Farm; exp.	10-21-24	
Apr. 24, 1925	DK	Central		10 dys. jail
May 3, 1925	DK	4.4		St. Farm
Aug. 5, 1925	DK	4.4	8-7	File; ret. St. Farm

12-2-40: No record of the death of this defendant at the Department of Vital Statistics in the State House, Boston, Mass. MAS:HVM. Record complete to August 20, 1943. CMD

### Hospitalization Record.

#### Boston City Hospital:

Apr. 19, 1920 to May 11, 1920. Multiple neuritis; positive Wassermann.

Dec. 30, 1923 to Jan. 4, 1924. Alcoholism.

# Long Island Hospital:

May 11, 1920 to June 4, 1920. Multiple neuritis; chronic nephritis. Discharged to Tewksbury.

### Tewksbury State Hospital:

Dec. 23, 1898 to Jan. 12, 1899. Pregnancy.

Mar. 19, 1901 to July 31, 1901. Hereditary syphilis.

Dec. 10, 1902 to Apr. 3, 1903. Debility.

Dec. 4, 1909 to Dec. 17, 1909. Alcoholism.

Dec. 7, 1918 to Feb. 14, 1919. Chronic alcoholism.

June 4, 1920 to Sept. 1, 1920. Multiple neuritis; latent syphilis.

Jan. 13, 1922 to Apr. 6, 1922. Chronic alcoholism.

Dec. 13, 1922 to Mar. 2, 1923. Same.

May 28, 1924 to Apr. 16, 1925. Same.

# Taunton State Hospital:

Aug. 15, 1925 to June 4, 1929. Chronic alcoholic deterioration. Transferred to Grafton State Hospital.

# Grafton State Hospital:

June 4, 1929. Died Dec. 16, 1943. Chronic alcoholic deterioration.

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910									P 3M			
1911				R	3	-14		3-	M	P <sup>3M</sup> <sub>SS</sub>		
1912	F	3-M			V/////	11/1/4	1/6//	\$////	/////		S.F	
1913	,				V//////	V/////	V/75CL/	77///	(11/11	(1.1A	-0-	-
1914		Fp	1////	11/1//	/////	1/6//	3///	1////			FIO	
1915			P			A	1/////	\$,///	11/1/1/	///F		HG
1916	F	3-M	39	7////	-M		F	777///	5.	F	RW 55F	RW
1917		A. I.I.				FRWP					33,	R
1918		3-M	JAIL (F	70.00		1 551	RRP S	FF		FP SF	P///4	6/5
1919	11/1/83	15/15/	F			-	5	5.		P 55	FV///	7/7
1920	//////	174.171	PIS	ST								
	D	D	-	R	-	-	ВСН			P		-
1921	R	P RW FF SS	-					PSSP		-		
1922				PZN	2-M			PSSF	SFP SSP		-	-
1923		PP I	всн	PSS			PSFFS	Fp	55		-	F SF
1924		Pss	рия		FSF	F SFSF	PSSTS	31	2		F.	P
1925			PZM		r ss	FSS SS	; P	-	PHM B	F I-M		0p 5
1926	SF	ВСН	FSSF	-	-	55	38/16/11	W///I=SF	F55日	the same of	AMI	ND A
1927	SFSC 3			D SSP		F ////	1//4//	53	PSF	S.		F
1928		S,	1		RET	To	S.F		P SF F & S	4		r
1929		S. F.	F		RET.	To		2M			2100	
1930	7//////	277727	12111		1 (1. &	1	F Z-P	-	3-M	55. P	H.G.S	
1931		1//5/	179111	F		M	3	F	翼		-	F
1932						R						FR
1933	S.F.	TRAN		RY			PAR. R		R	M.		
1934	30-1	30,30		RWF 55 R	-		R	W	1			-
1935		R.	1		R		-		R.	177777	777777	Y277
1936			R	W		5 P'		101 1	FEP	6123	134/1	51
1937	White S	//G//	5///		5	141	AS.C	- 3		ri H	PSS	
1938				F	F	5-00		2-17	5	MIN	5 5C	RI
1939		R	y	14.			FER	ET. TO	R.	V.V.	RWP	
1940	FRY	F			R.		'.M.					
1941		P	F 3	-M-	Lati.			R	1/1:			
1942		R	W.		Fp 13	SSF		R	- W.			
1943	Fe			RWS			R	. W				
				110	1	1					-	

# PERSONAL CHART 127-Z.

# Penological Record.

Female; born in 1879; lived under nineteen different aliases in thirteen different places in the South and West Ends of Boston.

Sept. 20, 1910	Dk	Central		3 Mo HCSS Probation-Dism
Apr. *9, 1911	Dk	4.4		RPO
Apr. 12, 1911	Dk	44		3 Mo HC SS Prob
Apr. 20, 1911	Dk	4.6		On File
Apr. 20, 1911	Surr	4.6		3 Mo HC
July 24, 1911	Dk	4.6		3 Mo HC
Oct. 30, 1911	Dk	46		3 Mo HCSS Prob 5-8-12
Jan. 7, 1912	Dk	4.6		On File
Jan. 7, 1912	Surr	4.6		3 Mo HC
Apr. 18, 1912	Dk	44		Prob HGS 10-23-12-Dism
Nov. 6, 1912	Dk	44	11-9	St. Farm App
Feb. 26, 1914	Dk	6.6	2-28	On File
Mar. 3, 1914	Dk	66	3-6	Prob HGS 9-9-14-Dism
	Dk	4.4		
Nov. 2, 1914		6.6	11-5	Prob 5-12-15
Nov. 10, 1914	Dk	4.6	11-14	
Nov. 10, 1914	Dk	44	11-14	10 days Jail
Apr. 4, 1915	Dk	**	4-7	Prob HGS 10-13-15
Oct. 29, 1915	Dk			On File
Nov. 20, 1915	Dk	44	11-26	3 Mo HCSS Prob 5-11-16
Jan. 12, 1916	Dk	14		On File
Jan. 12, 1916	Surr	6.6		3 Mo HC
Mar. 7, 1916	Dk	+ 4	3-10	Prob 9-13-16
Mar. 10, 1916	Surr	4.6		20 days CJ
Mar. 10, 1916	Dk	4.6		On File
Apr. 5, 1916	Dk	4.6		2 Mo HC
July 29, 1916	Dk	6.6		On File
Aug. 13, 1916	Dk	4.6		St. Farm
Nov. 14, 1916	Dk	4.6		RW SS Prob 5-23-17
Nov. 15, 1916	Dk	Central		Filed
Nov. 15, 1916	Surr-Dk	44		RW SS Prob 5-13-17
June 1, 1917	Dk	66		Filed
		6.6		
June 1, 1917	Surr-Dk	4.6		RW SS Prob 11-28-17-Dism
Dec. 10, 1917	Dk	4.6		RPO ·
Jan. 26, 1918	Forn	44		3 Mos Jail
July 5, 1918	Dk	44		RPO
July 23, 1918	Dk	44		RPO
Aug. 3, 1918	Dk			St. Farm SS Prob 2-5-19
Aug. 26, 1918	Dk	Roxbury		Filed
Oct. 5, 1918	Dk	Central		Filed
Oct. 5, 1918	Surr	44		St. Farm SS Prob 4-9-19
Nov. 6, 1918	Dk	6.6		Filed
Nov. 6, 1918	Surr-Dk	4.6		St. Farm SS Prob 5-7-19-HGS
Mar. 20, 1919	Dk	6.6		Filed
Mar. 20, 1919	Surr-Dk	4.6		St. Farm SS Prob 9-17-19
Apr. 8, 1919	Dk	4.4		On File
Apr. 8, 1919	Surr-Dk	4.6		St. Farm
July 8, 1919	Paroled			
Oct. 10, 1919	Dk	4.4		Prob 4-7-20-Dism
Jan. 22, 1921	Dk	4.6		RPO
Feb. 25, 1921	Dk	1.6		RPO
		44		RPO
Apr. 2, 1921	Dk			
Oct. 11, 1921	Dk	Roxbury		Prob 10–10–22–On File
Feb. 9, 1922	Dk	Central		On File
Feb. 9, 1922	Surr	+4		Prob 8-9-22
Feb. 13, 1922	Dk	6.6		On File
Feb. 13, 1922	Surr	**		RW SS Prob

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Aug. 3, 1922 Dk
                                             Central
                                                                On File
Aug. 3, 1922 Surr-Dk
                                                                    RW SS Prob 1-31-23
Feb. 3, 1923 Dk
                                                                     Prob 8-8-23
Feb. 16, 1923 Dk
                                                                    Prob 8-15-23
Feb. 16, 1923 Surr-Dk
                                                                    On File
Mar. 1, 1923 Dk
                                                6.6
                                                                    On File
Mar. 1, 1923 Surr-Dk
                                        4.6
                                                                1 Mo Jail
Apr. 23, 1923 Dk
                                                                    2 Mo Jail SS Prob 10-24-23
                                                4.8
Apr. 26, 1923 Dk
                                                                    On File
Apr. 26, 1923 Surr-Dk "
Sept. 12, 1923 Dk "
                                                                    2 Mo Jail
Sept. 12, 1923 Dk
                                                                    SF SS Prob 3-5-24
                                                4.6
Feb. 2, 1924 Dk
                                                                    On File
Feb. 2, 1924 Surr-Dk
                                                4.6
                                                                    SF SS Prob 7-30-24
July 22, 1924 Dk
                                                4.4
                                                                    On File
                                       44
July 22, 1924 Surr-Dk
                                                                    SF SS Prob 1-21-25

      July 27, 1924
      Dk
      "On File

      July 27, 1924
      Surr-Dk
      "7-31
      St. Farm SS Prob 1-28-26

      Dec. 23, 1924
      Dk
      Cambridge
      Filed-Turned over to Central Ct.

      Dec. 24, 1924
      Dk
      Central
      Filed

      Dec. 24, 1924
      Surr-Dk
      "SF SS Prob 6-24-25

      May 18, 1925
      Dk
      "5-21
      On File

      May 18, 1925
      Surr-Dk
      5-21
      St Farm SS Prob 11-18-25

      June 5, 1925
      Dk
      "On File
      St. Farm SS Prob 12-2-25

      June 22, 1925
      Surr
      "6-24
      SF SS Prob 12-23-25

      June 22, 1925
      Dk
      "6-24
      Filed

      Sept. 2, 1925
      Dk
      "6-24
      Filed

      Sept. 2, 1925
      Surr
      St. Farm
      St. Farm

      Sept. 2, 1925
      Surr
      St. Farm
      St. Farm

July 27, 1924 Dk
                                                                     On File
                                                11
Sept. 2, 1925 Surr
                                                                    St. Farm
                                            66
Dec. 4, 1925 Dk
                                                                    Prob 6-2-26
Mar. 18, 1926 Dk
                                                                    Filed
                                       Central
                                                                2 Mo Jail SS Prob 9–15–26
On File
Mar. 18, 1926 Surr
                                            66
Mar. 26, 1926 Dk
Mar. 26, 1926 Surr
                                                                  2 Mos Jail
                                                 6.6
June 25, 1926 Dk
                                                                   1 Mo Jail SS Prob 12-8-26
Sept. 25, 1926 Dk
                                                                   Filed
                                                             1 Mo Jail SS Prob 3-30-27
On File
Sept. 25, 1926 Surr-Dk
Oct. 6, 1926 Dk
Oct. 6, 1926 Susp. Rev.
                                                                    Com.
Oct. 30, 1926 Par. Charles St. Jail
Nov. 12, 1926 Dk
                                            Dorchester St. Farm App
Central St. Farm App
Dec. 24, 1926 Dk
                                                                   St. Farm App
Jan. 13, 1927 Dk
                                         Suff. Sup Filed
W. Roxbury 4-8 Def
"Filed
Central 4-26 St. Fm. SS Pr 10-26-27
Feb. 7, 1927 Dk
Apr. 7, 1927 Dk
Apr. 14, 1927 CDW-Dk
Apr. 25, 1927 Dk
                                            " 5–28 On File
May 24, 1927 Dk
                                                           " SF SS Prob 11-23-27
May 24, 1927 Surr
                                                 6.6
June 16, 1927 Dk
                                                                     On File
                                                4.6
                                                                     SF SS Prob 12-14-27-HGS 8-18
June 16, 1927 Surr-Dk
                                               66
Aug. 19, 1927 Dk
                                                                     On File
                                                                     SF SS Prob 2-21-28
Aug. 19, 1927 Surr
                                             Roxbury
Sept. 19, 1927 Dk
                                                                     On File-Ret. Central Ct.
Sept. 19, 1927 DK Roxbury On File-Ret. C
Sept. 19, 1927 Surr-Dk Central 9-21 St. Farm Com
Dec. 21, 1927 Rel. on parole from St. Farm to expire 9-20-28
Dec. 22, 1927 Parole revoked, returned to St. Farm
Dec. 22, 1927 Dk
                                            Central
                                                                    On File
Apr. 23, 1928 Rel. on parole from St. Farm to expire 9-21-28
Apr. 24, 1928 Parole revoked, returned to St. Farm
Apr. 24, 1928 Dk Central On File
Sept. 7, 1928 Rel. on parole from St. Farm to expire 9-22-28

        Oct.
        14, 1928
        Dk
        Central
        10-16
        On File

        Oct.
        19, 1928
        Dk
        " 10-22
        SF SS Prob 4-24-29

        Oct.
        22, 1928
        Surr-Dk
        " 10-23
        SF SS Prob 4-24-29

Oct. 22, 1928 Surr-Dk
                                                          10-23 SF SS Prob 4-24-29
```

```
        Oct. 22, 1928
        Dk
        Central 10-23 2 Weeks Jail

        Dec. 10, 1928
        Dk
        Roxbury 12-14 On File-Ret. Central Court

        Dec. 14, 1928
        Surr
        Central 12-17 St. Farm

Mar. 16, 19 9 Rel. on parole from St. Farm to expire 12-16-29
Mar. 22, 1929 Dk Roxbury On File-Ret. St. Farm
Mar. 22, 1929 Parole revoked, returned to St. Farm
Mar. 6, 1930 L LC Central 3 Mos. Jail
                                                   6–9 2 Mos Jail SS Prob 12–10–30
June 4, 1930 Dk
                                                          On File
June 9, 1930 Dk
                                         4.4
June 9, 1930 Surr-Dk
                                                          2 Mos Jail
                                                          3 Mos Jail SS Prob 6-19-31-MGS
June 16, 1930 Dk
May 1, 1931 Surr-Dk
                                                          On File
                                                          3 Mos Jail
May 8, 1931 Dk
                                         11
                                                          3 Mos Jail
July 6, 1931 Dk
                                         64
                                                 9-11 On File
Aug. 26, 1931 Dk
Sept. 14, 1931 Dk
June 23, 1932 Dk
                                                          10 days Jail
                                         . .
                                                          RPO
                                      Roxbury
                                                          RPO
Dec. 27, 1932 Dk
Jan. 4, 1933 Dk Central Fill
Jan. 4, 1933 Transferred to Reformatory for Women
Apr. 3, 1933 Rel. on parole from P. W.
                 Rel. on parole from R. W. to expire 1-3-35
Aug. 14, 1933
                 Parole revoked — (No new arrest)
Aug. 14, 1955

Jan. 4, 1954

Rel. on parole to expire 1-3-34

Jan. 9, 1934

Dk Quincy

Feb. 8, 1934

Dk Central

Feb. 15, 1934

Dk " 2
                                                         $15 Committed
                                                         RPO
                                                  2-19 St. Farm App
                                      Suff. Sup 1 Mo Jail
Cambridge RW SS 10-29-34
Central RPO
Mar. 6, 1934 Dk
Apr. 5, 1934 Dk
Apr. 9, 1934 Dk
Apr. 5, 1934 Dk
Apr. 23, 1934 Dk
                                      Cambridge 4-7 RW SS Prob 10-29-34
                                      Central On File-Del. Camb. Ct. P. O. Cambridge R.W.
Apr. 23, 1934 Surr-Dk
                                     Cambridge R.w.
Central 1 Mo. Jail
Apr. 20, 1935 Dk
May 20, 1935 Dk
                                                         RPO
                                    W. Roxbury 1 Mo Jail-Com.
Roxbury RW Com
June 6, 1935 Dk
July 6, 1935 Dk
June 4, 1936 Rel. on parole from R. W. to expire 7-5-36
June 11, 1936 Dk Central 5 days Jail
July 11, 1936 Dk
                                                  7-13 1 Mo Jail SS Prob 1-13-37
July 14, 1936 Dk
                                                          On File
July 14, 1936 Surr-Dk
                                                          1 Mo Jail
Aug. 13, 1936 Dk
                                                         1 Mo Jail
                                                         Prob 3-3-37-HGS
Sept. 1, 1936 Dk
                                                     Prob 3-3-37-HGS
2 Mos Jail
St. Farm App
3 Mos Jail
11-8-37 — 2 Mos Jail SS Prob. 5-11-38
4-27-38 Filed
11-5-37 2 Mos Jail SS Prob 10-26-38
Filed
2 Mos Jail
2 Mos Jail
                                     Roxbury
Apr. 1, 1937 Dk
July 7, 1937 Dk
                                      Central
Aug. 3, 1937 Dk
                                     Suff. Sup
Nov. 5, 1937 Dk
                                      Central
                                      Central
Apr. 25, 1938 Dk
Apr. 25, 1938 Surr-Dk Central
                                      Central
May 24, 1938 Dk
May 24, 1938 Surr-Dk 4/25/38 Central

    2 Mos Jail
    9/27/38 — 1 Mo Jail SS Prob 3-24-39
    Filed
    1 Month Jail

July 23, 1938 Dk
                                      Central
Sept. 26, 1938 Dk
                                      Central
                                      Central
Sept. 28, 1938 Dk
Sept. 28, 1938 Surr-Dk-9/26/38 Central
                                                         1 Month Jail
Oct. 28, 1938 Dk
                                     Central St. Farm App
Suff. Sup. Reformatory for Women
Nov. 9, 1938 Dk
June 28, 1939 Rel. on parole from R.W. expires Nov. 9, 1939.

        July 12, 1939
        Dk
        Central
        Filed

        July 13, 1939
        Dk
        Central
        Filed, Ret. to RW.

July 13, 1939 Dk
Nov. 1, 1939 Rel. on parole from RW. expires Nov. 22, 1939.
Nov. 7, 1939 Dk Central RW SS Prob. 5-8-40.
Nov. 20, 1939 Dk Central 11-22 Filed.
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Nov.	20,	1939	Dk (Surr)	Central 11-22	RW SS Prob. 5-15-40.
Jan.	6,	1940	Dk	Central	Filed.
Jan.	6,	1940	Dk (Surr)	Central	RW SS Prob. 7-3-40.
Feb.	8,	1940	Dk	Central	Filed
64	6.6	4.6	Surr (dk)	Central	Ref. for Women
Jan.	9,	1941	Rel. on parole fron	Reformatory for	Women, to exp. 2-7-41.
Jan.	25,	1941	Dk	Central	20 ds. Jail
Feb.	14,	1941	Dk	Central 2-17	Prob. 8-20-41
Mar.			Dk	Central	On file
4.6	6.6	4.6	Surr (dk)	Central	3 mos. Jail
Jun.	10,	1941	Dk	Central	Ref. Women app. (app. withdrawn)
May	4,	1942	Rel. on parole from	n Reformatory for	Women, to exp. 6-9-42.
May	18,	1942	Dk	Central	15 ds. Jail ss Prob. 11-18-42
May			Dk	Central	On file
4.6	4.4	6.6	Surr (dk)	Central	15 ds. Jail
Jun.	4,	1942	Dk	Central 6-5	Ref. Women ss Prob. 12-2-42
Jun.			Dk	Central	On file
4.4	8.6	6.4	Surr (dk)	Central	Ref. Women
Dec.	22,	1942	_	-	Women, to exp. 6-15-43.
Dec.			Dk	Central	On file, Turned over Parole Agt.
Apr.	7,	1943		n Reformatory for	Women, to exp. 6-15-43
Apr.			Dk	Central	Ref. Women app.
May	4,	1943	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Ref. for Women.

### Record complete to August 23, 1943. CMD

### Hospitalization Record.

### Boston City Hospital:

Aug. 25, 1921 to Aug. 27, 1921. Acute alcoholic gastritis.

Feb. 28, 1924 to Feb. 29, 1924. Acute alcoholism.

Mar. 10, 1926 to Mar. 11, 1926. Alcoholism (semi-comatose).

Sept. 21, 1926 to Sept. 22, 1926. Alcoholism.

Nov. 10, 1926 to Nov. 11, 1926. Alcoholism; contusions of face.

Boston City Hospital, Out-Patient Department:

Nov. 18, 1926. Laceration right temporal region.

Nov. 22, 1926. Same.

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												R
1906			R						P			
1907						Р			-			P
1908						1		P ///	////4	1/84//	(3///	////
1909		PF						1-M 1-M 55 55	FIRM	1-M	RWSC	P
1910	/////	7/////	1/84/	//////	1/64/	7/////	1/62//	(/////	111111	111111		11111
1911	(/////	(/////	(//////	(/////	V / Y-4 / 1.	11/1/11	P	7/////	(11111	R	//////	FP
1912			F						1-14	3-M	F V	1/5/
1913	111111	11/185	11811	(\$4////	1111/2			P		35	· VA	P
1914	(1/1/1/	F	7-M	34///	2-14			20 1	MD	7////8	1/6//	2///
1915	7/////	1/3///6	1///2			W ROK	CT.	F		VIIIN	N 2001/2	97//
1916	//////	2/34//2	1//19	2///	5	5		F				
1917			D			0	K					
			R		P	R	27/01	(1//44)	1462	141111	RB	6/16
1918	E.S.H	DY///	种爱	77/09/1/		OSTO	2/////	XAT	11/1/15	405X	1114/1/1	
1919	Er. D. Ti	K	77/53	77	14/1/		STA	11/1/1/1	1111111	54444	SENT ON V	OUT
1920				110000	05.	Source States	siffyff,	V	P	444	IARGE	
1921	4		at diffigliate of the	05//	DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTY.	TATE	SEN	T OUT	1/1	/////50	///2///	1/1//
1922		444	05.	Side of the state of	1-1-1-1	DI 66 H	ARGED		P	11111892	<i>[[]</i>	274///
1923	and the state of t	and the state of the	TATE	1000	05/	17/17	//8///	2///840	/////	5F	S.	
1924	60	the state of the	TAT	and with the fresh of	03//	P	4444		4449	55	7 777	77777
1925	S.F.	VIII	40000	44444	<b>***</b>	11114	4444	4,444	14/1/1/		R 8	(2),7)
1926	7.777/2	P		3//2		FP //	305	4/1/1/1/	TATE	4444	051	
1927	4444	805	// <del>5</del> X	NYE.			2000	50			G.S	
1928	///4.	(C. /		B	(18a/1)	7/4//	AF BIL	P				
1929	HG	3/1	11139	13711	37/1/	111111	R		14/0	4/5/s		11/1/
1930	4.4.5	מונונונו	p	11111	11/1/3/3	111 Sy	(154:1)	4444		P	H	12/
1931		H. G	/S.	4//	R	1	15	1195	and the shipping	P	11/1/	
1932	14	( St. )	5. //		2/2		R	Ess		37///	Hos	1111
1933				854	1//	14./	2/22		650		8,5,1	15///
1934		4	(3)	105.	5	TATE	He	05P/	P 5 P 2 5 5			////
1935	11111				(////	my and make	5.5					
1936				and the same	and the state of the state of		and the state of the	5 70	a pop to be hearing	a copied and and also	HAAAAAA	4444
1937	and the second second second	had ago graph ago ago ago	and stranger of the stranger	from all an astrophy phase	who shop ask asked in	bearings are a free plant of a	propropriet white	13113	and and any or the section of the	and the same of the same	and the state of the state of	11/1/
1938						RRES	TED F	SR AN	DEE	LEAS	EDIN	
1939	DRU	KEN	165/	CASE	\$. //	23/						
1940			R						R			
1941	1/1/1/1/	9 1/1	1/1/1/	19.19.1						34//	111/1/1	
1942	1///	1/3/11			1///					11/11/1		11/1/
1943			11/1/1		2							
1944	11/1/11		11/2/11	1/1/1/		11/1/1	11/1///	B				

#### PERSONAL CHART 101-Z.

### Penological Record.

Female; born in 1881; lived under six aliases in seven different places in the South End of Boston.

```
Dec. 28, 1905 Dk
                                        Rel.
                            Rox.
Mar. 12, 1906 Dk
                                        Rel.
Sept. 9, 1906
              Dk
                                        Prob. - Dism.
                                        Prob. - Dism.
June 15, 1907
              Dk
                           Central
                                        Prob. — Dism.
Dec. 29, 1907
              Dk
                                  8-19 Prob. HGS - 4 mos.
              Dk
Aug. 17, 1908
             Left HGS
Dec. 19, 1908
Feb. 25, 1909 Dk
                                  3-1
                                        Prob.
                             6.6
Feb. 25, 1909 Surr. dk
                                  3-1
                                        On File
                          6.6
Aug. 6, 1909 Dk
Aug. 6, 1909 Surr. dk
Sept. 4, 1909 Dk
                                        1 mo. HC ss. Prob.
                            6.6-
                                        1 mo. HC ss. Prob.
                              4.4
                                        On File
Sept. 4, 1909 Surr. dk
Sept. 4, 1909 Surr. dk
Nov. 6, 1909 Dk
                             6.6
                                        1 mo. HC
                             6.4
                                        1 mo. HC
                              6.6
                                        RW - App.
                            6.4
Dec. 27, 1909 Dk
                                       Prob. 1 yr. HGS
July 8, 1911 Dk
Oct. 26, 1911 Dk
             Dk
                                        Prob.
                           Rox.
                           Central
                                       RPO
             Dk
                            " 12-16 On File. Taken to Rox. Ct.
Dec. 14, 1911
Dec. 14, 1911 Surr. dk
                            Rox.
                                        Prob.
Mar. 2, 1912 Dk
                                        On File
Sept. 7, 1912 Dk
                            Central
                                        1 mo. HC
                            " 10-10 3 mos. HC ss. Prob. 4-16-13
Oct. 8, 1912 Forn.
Nov. 16, 1912 Dk
                                        On File
                           Rox.
                                        3 mos. HC SS. Prob. 5-28-13 HGS Dism.
Nov. 16, 1912 Surr. dk
                            Central
                            " 8-23 Prob. 2-25-14
Aug. 21, 1913 Dk
Dec. 23, 1913 Dk
                           Rox.
                                        On File
                                        Prob. 7-1-14
Dec. 23, 1913 Surr. dk
                           Central
                                        On File
Feb. 16, 1914 Dk
                                        2 mos. Jail
Feb. 16, 1914 Surr. dk
Apr. 24, 1914 Dk
                                  4-29 2 mos. HC
Aug. 3, 1914 Dk
                                        20 days HC
Aug. 24, 1914
                                 8-27 1 mo. Jail
             Dk
                            " 10-16 Prob. 4-21-15 HGS
Oct. 13, 1914
              Dk
                                        RW ss. Prob. 7/1/16 Filed
                           Rox.
July 1, 1915
              Dk
                                        RPO
July 31, 1916
             Dk
                           Central
Aug. 2, 1916 Dk
                           Rox.
                                        On File
                                        RPO
Mar. 3, 1917
             Dk
                           Central
June 13, 1917 Dk
                                        RPO
                                        Prob. 5-21-19 Filed
                           Rox.
May 18, 1918 Dk
                                        RPO
                           Central
Nov. 25, 1918 Dk
                                        RPO
Feb. 24, 1919 Dk
                           Central 3/5 Prob. 9-3-19
Mar. 1, 1919
             Dk
                             4.6
Mar. 5, 1919 Dk
                                        Filed
                                        6 mos. HC ss. Prob. 9-3-19
Mar. 5, 1919 Surr. dk
                             4.4
Apr. 24, 1919 Dk
                                        On File
                                          mos. HC ss. Prob. 10-22-19 Dism.
Apr. 24, 1919 Surr. dk
                              6.6
                                        Prob. 3-22-22 Cont 9-20-22 Def. War.
             Dk
Sept. 21, 1921
                                        Prob. 12-27-22 Cont 2-28-23 Dism.
Sept. 2, 1922 Def. Rem dk.
                            ..
                                        Prob. 2-13-24 Dism.
Aug. 15, 1923
             Dk
                                        Prob. 6-19-25
June 19, 1924
             Dk
                           Rox.
                                        St. Farm ss. Prob. 4-4-25
Oct. 4 4, 1924 Dk
                             6.6
                                        On File
              Surr. dk
Oct. 4, 1924
                             8.6
                                        Com. State Farm
Oct. 16, 1924 Surr. dk
                           Central
                                         RPO
Nov. 22, 1925 Dk
                            44
                                         Prob. 8-25-26 3 mos. HC HGS 5-26-26 Dism.
Feb. 23, 1926
             D:
                                         On File
June 14, 1926
             Dk
```

June 14, 1926	Surr. dk	Control 6 16	Prob. 12-15-26 Dism.
Aug. 22, 1927	Dk	" 8–23	
	Dk	0-40	On File
Aug. 27, 1927		11 . 6 30	
Aug. 27, 1927	Surr. dk	"· 8–30	1 mo. Jail ss. Prob. 2–29–28
Sept. 29, 1927	Dk	14	On File
Sept. 29, 1927	Surr. dk		1 mo. Jail ss. Prob. 3–28–28 HGS
July 12, 1928	Dk	7-16	On File
Aug. 28, 1928	Dk		Prob. 2-27-29 HGS 11-28-28 Dism.
July 14, 1929	Dk	++	RPO
July 29, 1929	Dk	**	Prob. 1-29-30 HGS
Apr. 1, 1930	Dk	4	Prob. 10-1-30 HGS Dism.
Oct. 30, 1930	Dk	44	Prob. 4-29-31 HGS Dism.
May 22, 1931	Dk	44	RPO
Oct. 10, 1931	Dk	4.4	Prob. 4-6-32 HGS Dism.
July 12, 1932	Dk	4.6	RPO
May 2, 1933	Dk	8.6	10 days Jail ss. Prob. 11-1-33 HGS Dism.
Mar. 6, 1934	Dk	44	Prob. 9-5-34 Dism.
Sept. 12, 1934	Dk	4.6	RPO
Sept. 15, 1934	Dk	" 9-17	St. Farm ss. Prob. 3-20-35 Dism.
July 8, 1935	Dk	Rox.	RW ss. Prob. 1 yr - Dism.
Sept. 19, 1936	Dk	Central	RPO
Jun. 12, 1939	Dk	Central	RPO
Mar. 26, 1940	Dk	Central	RPO
Sep. 16, 1940	Dk	Central	Filed
Oct. 27, 1941	Dk	Central	RPO
Jul. 2, 1942	Dk	Central	RPO
May 30, 1943	Dk	Central	RPO
2.223 00, 1010	20 20		242 0

### Record complete to January 21, 1944.

### Hospitalization Record.

### Boston City Hospital:

May 2, 1917 to May 6, 1917. Acute alcoholism.

July 20, 1929 to July 23, 1929. Acute alcoholism.

# Boston Psychopathic Hospital:

Oct. 27, 1921 to Nov. 5, 1921. Alcoholic hallucinosis.

# Boston State Hospital:

June 14, 1918 to Oct. 8, 1920. Alcoholic hallucinosis. On visit, under care of hospital until Oct. 4, 1921.

Jan. 27, 1922 to July 2, 1922. Same. On visit, under care of hospital until May 25, 1923.

Jan. 8, 1925 — still there when last checked, July 18, 1944. Permitted to leave on short "visits" many times, and each time became drunk promptly, as shown in penological record.

2-2	,	MALE	E	BORN	CT. 19,1	89%		CHAR	T BY J	UDGE	J. T. ZO	TTOL
YEAR	JAN	FEB					JUL	AUG			NOV	(
1901												
1902												
1903												
1904												
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909							-					
1910												
1911												-
1912	-											
1913												
1914									ATTOM	PTED LARC	6-M	
1915									CITEM		SS	
1916												
1917							give					
1918							F					
1919												
1920								#5 VIOL	AUTO LAW			
1921			,			\$15 VIOI	AUTO. LAV	1				
1922												
1923		\$75 SE	LLING LIP	UOR				F		N.C.	De	
1924	,				# 10 V.A.L.			F		5 NG=	DR. OP. UND. IN	FL.
1925	D*555	\$100 Po	SS. OBSCE	NE PRINTS					200610	72.4		R
1926			R	F				-	AA	3M#5	\$15D	5
1927	A-M	ON 3 APE	CASES				P	FSF	D	F	S.F.	
1928	SE	F		D			R	R	R		R	R
1929	F	H	0			1 <u>-</u> M 55	F.F.	PAROL	ED E	SF N		SF 55
1930	F		PAROLED				R		# KEY	SF		
1931								R SF F	SF SA	-	5	.F
1932	FR	ET. TO	S.F.			RET	™ S,	F		DEFA	FILED S	£7
1933	8	І-М		3-M	H.C.	SF-	N I	M M	N SF	SF N	SF N	SF
1934	SF SC	SF S	T   S		EAR F	RET	To S	F	F		S.F.	
1935	SF	R	MIG		I-M N	SE ARE	AVG 16.15	35 L	MSG	PARREY	OKED S	F
1936	SE	RET 5.	·	FAR.	RET S	+ 4	R			10	S.F.	
1937	SE	RET		-		RET	-	5. F.		RI	RE ST	SFNS
1938		5. F.	FE	Rec	To	5.E.		F	S		1.17	R
1939		J			R	W 55 R 55	S	F			RET S	1 6//
1940	5.F	E		5.	F.	K 50	1	IO SE	S,	F		SF
	Ont v		Prir	To 6.			Z F W	R51		F	55	NP
1941	SFN SF.	N LM S	5 S			KEJ.	The Springer of the Party of th	S.F.			ZET S.	
1942		P A S	6					27.1.1				
1943	S.F.	55			S,							
1944												-

### PERSONAL CHART 2-Z.

# Penological Record.

Male; born in 1897; lived under fourteen aliases in various places in Boston, Pawtucket, R. I., Manchester, N. H., etc.

Nov	15.	1915	Attempted Larceny	Central		6 mos HC SS Pr. 5/17/16 Dism.
			Vio. Park Rules	Roxbury		On File
			V. A. L.	Dorchester		\$5. Paid
			Vio Motor Veh. Laws			\$15. Paid
				W. Roxbury		\$75. SF Pr. 5/10/23
			Selling Liquor			On File
Aug.	23,	1923		Central		Discharged
			Op. Und Infl. Liquor	44		_
			V. A. L.		0/00	\$10.
		1924		Somerville	9/22	Filed
4.6	4.6	44	Op. Und Infl. Liquor	44		Not Guilty
Oct.	€,	1924	Dk	W. Roxbury		\$5. Paid
Oct.	23,	1924	Dk	Roxbury	11/7	Not Guilty
4.4	4.4	44	Op. Und Infl. Liquor	4.6	44	Not Guilty
Jan.	12,	1925	Dk	Central		Defaulted
Jan.	16,	1925	CDW (dk)	6.6	1/20	\$5. SF 2/18/25
8.6	4.4	4.6	Op. Und Infl. Liquor	4.6	4.6	3 mos HC SS Pr. 1/20/26- Dism.
6.6	4.6	4.6	Poss. Obscene Prints	6.6	4.6	\$100. SF Pr. 2/18/25
Dec.	21.	1925	Dk	4.6		Released
		1926		Lynn		Released
		1926		Central		Filed
		1926		44	10/7	2 mos H.C. App.
bept.	44	1020	Op. Und Infl. Liquor	44	11	6 mos HC App.
6.6	64	6.6	Oper. End Lives	6.6	6.4	3 mos H. C. App.
				S. Boston		\$5.
		1926				\$15. Pd.
		1926		Charlestown	10/0	Defno warrant
		1926		Central	12/6	
		1926		Suff. Sup.		Not Guilty
	3,	1926	V. A. L.	44 44		Filed
4.4		6.6	V. A. L.			4 mos H. C.
July	5,	1927	Dk	Central		Prob. 1/4/27
		1927	Dk	4.6		Filed
4.4	4.6	4.4	Surr (dk)	44		St. Farm SS Pr. 2/15/28
Sept.	19,	1927	Dk	**		Def.
Nov.	21,	1927	Dk	44		Filed
4.6	6.6	6.6	Surr (dk)	4.6		State Farm
4.6	4.4	6.6	Vio. True Name Law	4.4		On File
Feb.	21,	1928	Rel. on parole fr. S. F	. to exp. 11/2	0/28	
			Def. (Dk)	Central		Filed
		1928		4.4		Def.
		1928		Central		RPO
_		1928		44		RPO
_		1928		4.4		RPO
-		1928		4.4		5 days Jail
_		1928		4.6		RPO
				64		RPO
		1928		4.6		Filed
Jan.		1929		44		5 days Jail
		1929		4.4		
		1929		44	0/14	10 days Jail
		1929		44	6/14	1 mo HC SS Pr. 6/11/30
		1929		**		RPO
		1929		44		Prob. 1/22/30
			Dk			Filed
6.6	4.6	4.6	Surr (dk)	44		Filed
4.6	4.6	4.6	Surr (dk)	44		1 mo H. C.
Aug.	12,	1929	Paroled fr. House of C	Correction		
Sept.	17,	1929	Dk	Central		5 days Jail
Oct.	14,	1929	Dk	44		St. Farm App.
		1929		Suff. Sup.		Nol Pros'd.

Dec. 10, 1929	Dk	Central	St. Farm SS Pr. 6/11/30
Jan. 21, 1930	Surr (dk)	36	State Farm
Apr. 21, 1930	Paroled fr. St. Farm		
July 12, 1930		44	Rel.
	Parole revoked		
11 11 11	Dk	44	3 days Jail
	Paroled fr. St. Farm t	o own 5/14/21	o days van
		Central	RPO
Aug. 3, 1931		Central	
Aug. 6, 1931		66	St. Farm App.
Sept. 14, 1931			St. Farm App.
Sept. 16, 1931		Suff. Sup.	State Farm
Dec. 17, 1931		44 44	Filed
Dec. 17, 1931	Dk	Central 12/21	Filed
	Deft. is on parole fr. St	. Farm	
Jan. 2, 1932	Dk	Central	Filed- Ret. St. Farm
May 25, 1932	Dk	4.6	Filed
May 26, 1932	Dk	4.4	Filed- Ret. St. Farm
Oct. 13, 1932	Dk	44	Def.
44 44 44	Ct. DW (DK)	44	St. Farm App.
	,	Suff. Sup.	Filed
Jan. 9, 1933	Dk	Central	8 days H. C.
Feb. 1, 1933		11	1 mo H. C.
Mar. 4, 1933		1.4	3 mos H. C.
		44	St. Farm App.
June 6, 1933			Nol Pros'd.
July 3, 1933		Suff. Sup.	
July 17, 1933		Central	1 mo H. C.
Aug. 16, 1933	Dk		3 mos H. C. App.
Sept. 5, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Sept. 11, 1933	Dk	Central	St. Farm App.
Oct. 2, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Oct. 7, 1933	Dk	Central	St. Farm App.
Nov. 6, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Nov. 10, 1933		Central	St. Farm App.
Dec. 4, 1933		Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Dec. 15, 1933		Central	St. Farm App.
Jan. 3, 1934		Suff. Sup.	Nol Pros'd.
Jan. 15, 1934		Central	St. Farm App.
		Suff. Sup.	On File
Feb. 5, 1934		Central	St. Farm App.
Feb. 14, 1934			Filed
Mar. 13, 1934	DK	Suff. Sup.	Filed
	Rel. on par. fr. St. Fa		Ellad Dat Ct Form
May 23, 1934	Dk	Central	Filed — Ret. St. Farm
	Rel. on par. fr. St. Fa		TH 1 TO 1 C1 T
Sept. 27, 1934	Dk	Central	Filed — Ret. St. Farm
Feb. 11, 1935	Rel. on par. fr. St. Fa	rm to exp. 2/26/35	
Feb. 16, 1935	Dk	Central	RPO
Feb. 19, 1935	Dk	44	1 month H. C.
Mar. 22, 1935		44	10 days Common Jail
Apr. 4, 1935		44	1 mo. H. C.
Apr. 29, 1935		44	1 mo. H. C App.
May 6, 1935		Suf. Sup.	Nol Prossed
May 11, 1935		Central	St. Farm — App.
	Appeal withdrawn.	Committed	
Aug 16 1095	Rel. on parole from S		-15-36
		Central	1 mo. H. C. — Appeal
Aug. 21, 1935		Carvada	and the same of th
Aug. 29, 1935	Parole revoked	Suf. Sup.	2 weeks H. C.
		DILL DUL.	
Sept. 3, 1935	Dk		536
Jan. 20, 1936	Rel. on parole from S	t. Farm to expire 6-1	5-36
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk	t. Farm to expire 6-15 Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St	t. Farm to expire 6-1: Central . Farm to expire 6-22	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St	t. Farm to expire 6-1: Central . Farm to expire 6-22 Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36  Filed. Ret. to State Farm
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936 Apr. 25, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St Drunk	t. Farm to expire 6-1: Central . Farm to expire 6-22	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36  Filed. Ret. to State Farm  RPO
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936 Apr. 25, 1936 July 7, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St Drunk Drunk	t. Farm to expire 6-1: Central . Farm to expire 6-22 Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36 Filed. Ret. to State Farm RPO 10 days C. J.
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936 Apr. 25, 1936 July 7, 1936 Oct. 1, 1936 Oct. 16, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St Drunk Drunk Drunk Drunk	t. Farm to expire 6-14 Central Farm to expire 6-22 Central Central Central Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36  Filed. Ret. to State Farm  RPO
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936 Apr. 25, 1936 July 7, 1936 Oct. 1, 1936 Oct. 16, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St Drunk Drunk Drunk Drunk	t. Farm to expire 6-14 Central Farm to expire 6-22 Central Central Central Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36 Filed. Ret. to State Farm RPO 10 days C. J.
Jan. 20, 1936 Jan. 28, 1936 Apr. 21, 1936 Apr. 25, 1936 July 7, 1936 Oct. 1, 1936 Oct. 16, 1936	Rel. on parole from St Drunk Rel on parole from St Drunk Drunk Drunk Drunk Rel. on parole. Parol	t. Farm to expire 6-14 Central Farm to expire 6-22 Central Central Central Central	Filed. Del to Parole Officer.  -36 Filed. Ret. to State Farm RPO 10 days C. J.

May 25, 1937 Dk Central Oct. 9, 1937 Parloed, to exp. 10-19-37 May 25, 1937 Dk Central Oct. 14, 1937 Dk Central Oct. 16, 1937 Dk Central Oct. 16, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 15, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 15, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 22, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 22, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 29, 1837 Dk Central Nov. 29, 1837 Dk Central St. Farm app. Nov. 16, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 17, 1938 Dk Central Nov. 18, 1937 Dk Central Nov. 18, 1941 Dk Central St. Farm sp. Nol prossed St. Farm Str (dk) Central St. Farm sp. Nol prossed St. Farm Str (dk) Central St. Farm Str (dk) Central St. Farm St. Farm Str (dk) Central St. Farm				
Oct. 14, 1937 Dk         Central         RPO           Oct. 16, 1937 Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C.           Nov. 15, 1937 Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C.           Nov. 22, 1937 Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C. app.           Nov. 22, 1937 Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Dec. 14, 1937 Dk         Central         St. Farm spp.           Dec. 14, 1937 Dk         Central         St. Farm spp.           Dec. 14, 1937 Dk         Central         St. Farm           Mar. 15, 1938 Drolled, to ex. 12-14-38         St. Farm           Mar. 17, 1938 Dk         Central         St. Farm           Mar. 17, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38         St. Farm           Mar. 17, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-16-38         St. Farm           Mar. 17, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38         St. Farm           Aug. 17, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 7, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 7, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38         RPO           Louis Juja Juja Juja Juja Juja Juja Juja Juja			-37	
Oct.         14, 1937         Dk         Central         RPO           Nov. 15, 1937         Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C.           Nov. 22, 1937         Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C.           Nov. 29, 1937         Dk         Central         3t. Farm app.           Dec. 6, 1937         Dk         Central         St. Farm sapp.           Dec. 15, 1937         Dk         Central         Filed           Mer. 15, 1938         Dk         Central         St. Farm sapp.           Mar. 15, 1938         Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38         St. Farm           Mar. 17, 1938         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Aug. 22, 1938         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Aug. 22, 1938         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 19, 1938         Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 19, 1938         Parole evoked         Rentral         R.P. O.           Dec. 19, 1939         Dk.         Central         R.P. O.           July 6, 1939         Dk.         Central         R.P. O.           July 10, 1939         Dk.         Central         R.P. O.           July	May 25, 1937	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Oct. 16, 1937   Dk	Oct. 9, 1937	Paroled, to exp. 10-24	-37	
Nov. 15, 1937 Dk Central 5 ds. Jail Nov. 22, 1937 Dk Central 1 mo. H. C. app. Nov. 29, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm app. Nov. 29, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm spr. 6-15-38 Dec. 14, 1937 Dk Central Filed  Bec. 14, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm spr. 6-15-38 Dec. 15, 1937 Dk Central Filed  Bec. 15, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm spr. 6-15-38 Dec. 16, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm  Mar. 15, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38 Aug. 17, 1938 Dk Central Filed  Aug. 17, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38 Aug. 22, 1938 Dk Central Surr (dk) Central St. Farm  Bec. 19, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38 Dec. 19, 1939 Dk. Central RPO  Dec. 7, 1939 Dk. Central RPO  July 10, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O. July 8, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O. July 10, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O.  State Farm se Prob. 1-3-40 Filed St. Farm se Prob. 1-3-40 Filed Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 7-12-40.  Mar. 18, 1940 Dk Central R. P. O. Jul. 30, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40. Jul. 30, 1940 Dk Central R. P. O. Jul. 30, 1940 Dk Central R. P. O. Jul. 30, 1940 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 30, 1940 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 31, 1941 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 40, 1942 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 40, 1942 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 51, 1942 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 52, 1941 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 40, 1942 Dk Central R. P. D. Jul. 51, 1942 Dk Centr				
Nov. 22, 1937 Dk	Oct. 16, 1937	Dk	Central	1 mo. H. C.
Nov. 29, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Dec. 14, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm sp. Nol prossed  Dec. 15, 1937 Dk Central St. Farm sp. Pr. 6-15-38  Filed  Mar. 15, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38  Mar. 17, 1938 Dk Central Filed  Mar. 17, 1938 Dk Faroled, to ex. 12-14-38  Aug. 17, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-16-33  Aug. 22, 1938 Dk Central Filed  " " " Surr (dk) Central St. Farm  Dec. 7, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38  Dec. 19, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38  Dec. 19, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38  Dec. 19, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38  Dec. 19, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O.  July 6, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O.  July 10, 1939 Dk. Central R. P. O.  July 10, 1939 Dk. Central St. Farm sp. Prob. 1-3-40  July 10, 1939 Dk. Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Central St. Farm sp. Prob. 1-3-40  July 10, 1939 Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-0-1940  Oct. 13, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.  Mar. 18, 1940 DK Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Jul. 30, 1940 DK Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Jul. 30, 1940 DK Central RPO  Aug. 1, 1940 DK Central RPO  Aug. 1, 1940 DK Central St. Farm sp. Prob. 2-12-41  Aug. 16, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.  Vov. 18, 1941 Released on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.  Reb. 20, 1941 Dk Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Jul. 28, 1941 Dk Central St. Farm sp. Prob. 2-12-41  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  St. Farm sp. Prob. 2-12-41  Filed, Ret. St. Farm  File	Nov. 15, 1937	Dk	Central	5 ds. Jail
Dec.   14, 1937   Dk   Central   St. Farm ss Pr. 6-15-38	Nov. 22, 1937	Dk	Central	1 mo. H. C. app.
Dec.   14, 1937   Dk	Nov. 29, 1937	Dk	Central	St. Farm app.
Dec. 15, 1937   Dk	Dec. 6, 1937	Dk 2 cts.	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Mar. 15, 1938   Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38   Mar. 17, 1938   Paroled, to ex. 12-16-38   Mar. 17, 1938   Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38   Filed, Ret. St. Farm	Dec. 14, 1937	Dk	Central	St. Farm ss Pr. 6-15-38
Mar. 15, 1938 Paroled, to ex. 12-14-38         Mar. 17, 1938 Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Aug. 17, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38         St. Gentral         Filed           Aug. 22, 1938 Dk         Central         St. Farm           Boc. 7, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38         Parole revoked           Dec. 7, 1938 Dk         Central         R. P. O.           July 6, 1939 Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July 6, 1939 Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July 10, 1939 Dk.         Central         Filed           July 10, 1939 Dk.         Central         Filed           Cot. 13, 1939 Dk.         Central         Filed           Oct. 10, 1939 Sur. (Dk.)         Central         Filed           Oct. 10, 1939 Sur. (Dk.)         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Oct. 13, 1939 Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Oct. 10, 1939 Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-9-1940         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Oct. 13, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jul. 30, 1940 DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Aug. 1, 1940 DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug. 14, 1940 DK         Central         S			Central	Filed
Mar. 17, 1938 Dak         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Aug. 17, 1938 Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38         Central         Filed           Aug. 22, 1938 Dk         Central         St. Farm           " " " Barded, to exp. 12-21-38         Filed         St. Farm           Dec. 19, 1938 Dk         Central         R. P. O.           June 1, 1939 Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July 8, 1939 Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July 9, 1939 Dk.         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           July 10, 1939 Dk.         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           July 10, 1939 Dk.         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           July 10, 1939 Sur. (Dk.)         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           Oct. 10, 1939 Pal. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-9-1940         State Farm           Oct. 13, 1939 Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Feb. 13, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Mar. 18, 1940 DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 16, 1940 DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 16, 1940 DK         Central         St. Farm           Nov. 16, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm      <	66 66 66	Surr (dk)	Central	St. Farm
Aug. 17, 1938   Paroled, to exp. 12-16-38 Aug. 22, 1938   Dk   Central   St. Farm	Mar. 15, 1938	Paroled, to ex. 12-14-3	38	
Aug.   22, 1938   Dk	Mar. 17, 1938	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Sur (dk)   Central   St. Farm     Parole revoked   Parole, to exp. 12-21-38     Dec.   19, 1938   Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38     Dec.   19, 1938   Dk   Central   R. P. O.     July   6, 1939   Dk.   Central   R. P. O.     July   6, 1939   Dk.   Central   R. P. O.     July   10, 1939   Dk.   Central   St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40     July   10, 1939   Sur. (Dk.)   Central   State Farm     Oct.   10, 1939   Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-9-1940     Oct.   13, 1940   Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp.     Feb.   13, 1940   Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp.     Feb.   13, 1940   Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.     Jul.   15, 1940   Dk   Central   St. Farm     Filed, Ret. St. Farm     Jul.   15, 1940   Dk   Central   R. P. O.     Jul.   30, 1940   DK   Central   St. Farm     Jul.   4, 1940   DK   Central   St. Farm     St. Farm   Stroke   St. Farm     St. Farm   Stroke   St. Farm     St. Farm   State Farm     St. Farm   State Farm     Jul.   26, 1941   DK   Central   St. Farm     Jul.   28, 1941   Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41.     Jul.   28, 1941   Dk   Central   St. Farm     Jul.   28, 1942   Dk   Central   St. Farm     Jul.   29, 1942   Dk   Central   St. Farm     Jul.   29, 1942   Dk   Central   St. Farm     St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm     St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm     St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm     St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm   St. Farm	Aug. 17, 1938	Paroled, to exp. 12-16-	-38	
Dec.   7, 1938   Paroled, to exp. 12-21-38   Central   RPO	66 66 66	Surr (dk)	Central	St. Farm
Dec.   19, 1938   Dk	41 11 11	Parole revoked		
June   1, 1939   Dk.   Central   R. P. O.	Dec. 7, 1938	Paroled, to exp. 12-21-	-38	
July         6, 1939         Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July         10, 1939         Dk.         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           July         10, 1939         Dk.         Central         Filed           Oct.         10, 1939         Sur. (Dk.)         Central         State Farm           Oct.         10, 1939         Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-9-1940         Filed, Ret. St. F.           Feb.         13, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jul.         15, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         RPO           Jul.         30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug.         1, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug.         16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         19, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         23, 1941         Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41. <td>Dec. 19, 1938</td> <td>Dk</td> <td>Central</td> <td></td>	Dec. 19, 1938	Dk	Central	
July         6, 1939         Dk.         Central         R. P. O.           July         10, 1939         Dk.         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 1-3-40           July         10, 1939         Dk.         Central         Filed           Oct.         10, 1939         Sur. (Dk.)         Central         State Farm           Oct.         10, 1939         Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7-9-1940         Filed, Ret. St. F.           Feb.         13, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jul.         15, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         RPO           Jul.         30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug.         1, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug.         16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         19, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov.         19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         23, 1941         Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41. <td>June 1, 1939</td> <td>Dk.</td> <td>Central</td> <td>R. P. O.</td>	June 1, 1939	Dk.	Central	R. P. O.
July   10, 1939   Dk.   Central   State Farm	July 6, 1939	Dk.		
July 10, 1939         Sur. (Dk.)         Central Central         State Farm           Oct. 13, 1939         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Feb. 13, 1940         Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 7-12-40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Mar. 18, 1940         Dk         Central         RPO           Jul. 30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 1, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug. 14, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug. 16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Nov. 16, 1940         Released on parole, to expice 8-5-41.         St. Farm           Nov. 19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Feb. 20, 1941         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 23, 1941         Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 28, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Parole Board notified, Recommended filing. Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jan. 2, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm asp. <td></td> <td></td> <td>Central</td> <td></td>			Central	
Oct. 10, 1939         Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7—9—1940         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Oct. 13, 1939         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Feb. 13, 1940         Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 7–12–40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Mar. 18, 1940         Dk         Central         RPO           Jul. 30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 14, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2–12–41           Aug. 16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2–12–41           Nov. 16, 1940         Released on parole, to expire 8–5–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Nov. 19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 8–18–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Feb. 20, 1941         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 23, 1941         Release on parole, to exp. 10–14–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 28, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jan. 24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jan. 24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Feb. 18, 1942	July 10, 1939	Dk.		Filed
Oct. 10, 1939         Rel. on parole St. Farm exp. 7—9—1940         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Oct. 13, 1939         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. S. F.           Feb. 13, 1940         Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 7–12–40.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Mar. 18, 1940         Dk         Central         RPO           Jul. 30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 14, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2–12–41           Aug. 16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2–12–41           Nov. 16, 1940         Released on parole, to expire 8–5–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Nov. 19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 8–18–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Feb. 20, 1941         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 23, 1941         Release on parole, to exp. 10–14–41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 28, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jan. 24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jan. 24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Feb. 18, 1942	July 10, 1939	Sur. (Dk.)	Central	State Farm
Feb. 13, 1940   Release on parole from St. Farm, to exp. 7-12-40.   Mar. 18, 1940   Dk   Central   Filed, Ret. St. Farm	Oct. 10, 1939	Rel. on parole St. Fari		
Mar. 18, 1940 Dk				
Jul. 15, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 7-29-40.         Jul. 30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug. 1, 1940         DK         Central         10 ds. Jail           Aug. 14, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug. 16, 1940         DK         Central         Filed           Nov. 16, 1940         Released on parole, to expire 8-5-41.         Nov. 19, 1940         DK         Central           Dec. 24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec. 24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 23, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun. 26, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Nov. 18, 1941         Released at expiration.         Recommended filing.           Dec. 1, 1941         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jan. 2, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jan. 24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Feb. 18, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm ss Pr. 8-26-42 <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></t<>				
Jul.         30, 1940         DK         Central         RPO           Aug.         14, 1940         DK         Central         10 ds. Jail           Aug.         16, 1940         DK         Central         St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41           Aug.         16, 1940         DK         Central         Filed           Nov.         16, 1940         Released on parole, to exprise 8-5-41.         Nov.         19, 1940         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Dec.         24, 1940         Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         26, 1941         DK         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         26, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         26, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         26, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Jun.         28, 1941         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jun.         29, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jun.         29, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm ss Pr. 8-26-42	Mar. 18, 1940	Dk		Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Aug. 1, 1940 DK       Central       10 ds. Jail         Aug. 14, 1940 DK       Central       St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41         Aug. 16, 1940 DK       Central       Filed         " "Surr (DK)       "St. Farm         Nov. 16, 1940 Released on parole, to expire 8-5-41.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Nov. 19, 1940 DK       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Dec. 24, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Feb. 20, 1941 DK       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Jun. 23, 1941 Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Jun. 26, 1941 Dk       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Nov. 18, 1941 Released at expiration.       Filed, Ret. State Farm         Dec. 1, 1941 Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Jan. 2, 1942 Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Jan. 5, 1942 Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Feb. 18, 1942 Dk       Suff. Sup.       Nol prossed         Feb. 25, 1942 Dk       Central       St. Farm ss Pr. 8-26-42         Feb. 27, 1942 Dk       Central       Filed         Mar. 10, 1942 Dk       Suff. Sup.       Filed         May 27, 1942 Rel. on parole, to exp. 2-26-43.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm <t< td=""><td>Jul. 15, 1940</td><td>Release on parole, to e</td><td>xp. 7-29-40.</td><td></td></t<>	Jul. 15, 1940	Release on parole, to e	xp. 7-29-40.	
Aug. 14, 1940       DK       Central       St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41         Aug. 16, 1940       DK       Central       Filed         Nov. 16, 1940       Released on parole, to expire 8-5-41.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Nov. 19, 1940       DK       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Dec. 24, 1940       Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Jun. 23, 1941       DK       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Jun. 26, 1941       Dk       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Jun. 28, 1941       Dk       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Nov. 18, 1941       Released at expiration.       Filed, Ret. State Farm         Dec. 1, 1941       Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Jan. 2, 1942       Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Jan. 24, 1942       Dk       Central       St. Farm app.         Feb. 3, 1942       Dk       Central       St. Farm sp.         Feb. 18, 1942       Dk       Central       St. Farm sp.         Feb. 27, 1942       Dk       Central       St. Farm         Feb. 27, 1942       Dk       Central       Filed         May 27, 1942       Rel. on parole, to exp. 2-26-43.	Jul. 30, 1940	DK	Central	
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Nov. 16, 1940   Released on parole, to expire 8-5-41.			Central	St. Farm ss Prob. 2-12-41
Nov. 16, 1940 Released on parole, to expire 8-5-41.  Nov. 19, 1940 DK Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Dec. 24, 1940 Release on parole, to exp. 8-18-41.  Feb. 20, 1941 DK Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Jun. 23, 1941 Release on parole, to exp. 10-14-41.  Jun. 26, 1941 Dk Central Filed, Parole Board Recommended filing.  Jul. 28, 1941 Dk Central Filed, Ret. State Farm  Nov. 18, 1941 Released at expiration.  Dec. 1, 1941 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Jan. 2, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Jan. 2, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Jan. 24, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Feb. 3, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm app.  Feb. 18, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm sep.  Feb. 18, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm sep.  Feb. 27, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm sep.  Surr (dk) "St. Farm sep. Nol prossed I mo. H. C. app.  Filed St. Farm sep.  St. Farm sep.  St. Farm sep.  Nol prossed I mo. H. C. app.  Feb. 27, 1942 Dk Central St. Farm sep. 8-26-42  Filed St. Farm  Mar. 10, 1942 Dk Suff. Sup.  May 27, 1942 Rel. on parole, to exp. 2-26-43.  Jun. 1, 1942 Dk Central Filed  May 27, 1942 Dk Central Filed  May 27, 1942 Rel. on parole, to exp. 2-26-43.  Oct. 16, 1942 Dk Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Feb. 11, 1943 Paroled from St. Farm, to exp. 2-26-43.  Feb. 13, 1943 Dk Central Filed  St. Farm se Prob. 8-18-43  Feb. 17, 1943 Dk Central St. Farm  Filed, Ret. St. Farm Sep. St. F	Aug. 16, 1940	DK		
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Recommended filing.   Jul. 28, 1941   Dk   Central   Filed, Ret. State Farm				
Jul.         28, 1941         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. State Farm           Nov.         18, 1941         Released at expiration.         St. Farm app.           Jan.         2, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Jan.         5, 1942         Dk 2 cts.         Suff. Sup.         Nol prossed           Jan.         24, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm app.           Feb.         3, 1942         Dk         Central         Nol prossed           Feb.         18, 1942         Dk         Central         1 mo. H. C. app.           Feb.         27, 1942         Dk         Central         St. Farm ss Pr. 8-26-42           Feb.         27, 1942         Dk         Central         Filed           Mar.         10, 1942         Dk         Suff. Sup.         Filed           May         27, 1942         Dk         Central         Filed           May         27, 1942         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Oct.         13, 1942         Rel. on parole, to exp. 2-26-43.         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           Oct.         16, 1942         Dk         Central         Filed, Ret. St. Farm           <	Jun. 26, 1941	Dk	Central	
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May 27, 1942 Rel. on parole, to exp. 2–26–43.  Jun. 1, 1942 Dk Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Oct. 13, 1942 Rel. on parole, to exp. 2–26–43.  Oct. 16, 1942 Dk Central Filed, Ret. St. Farm  Feb. 11, 1943 Paroled from St. Farm, to exp. 2–26–43.  Feb. 13, 1943 Dk Central 2–15 St. Farm ss Prob. 8–18–43  Feb. 17, 1943 Dk Central Filed  """ Surr (dk) Central St. Farm			ClCf. Cl	
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Oct. 13, 1942       Rel. on parole, to exp. 2–26–43.       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Oct. 16, 1942       Dk       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Feb. 11, 1943       Paroled from St. Farm, to exp. 2–26–43.       St. Farm ss Prob. 8–18–43         Feb. 13, 1943       Dk       Central       2–15         Filed, Ret. St. Farm       St. Farm ss Prob. 8–18–43         Filed       St. Farm				Ellad Dat St Fa-
Oct. 16, 1942 Dk       Central       Filed, Ret. St. Farm         Feb. 11, 1943 Paroled from St. Farm, to exp. 2–26–43.       St. Farm ss Prob. 8–18–43         Feb. 13, 1943 Dk       Central       2–15         Feb. 17, 1943 Dk       Central       Filed         " " " Surr (dk)       Central       St. Farm				rneu, Ret. St. rarm
Feb. 11, 1943       Paroled from St. Farm, to exp. 2–26–43.         Feb. 13, 1943       Dk       Central       2–15       St. Farm ss Prob. 8–18–43         Feb. 17, 1943       Dk       Central       Filed         " " " Surr (dk)       Central       St. Farm				Dil-1 D-4 St Ferm
Feb. 13, 1943 Dk       Central       2-15       St. Farm ss Prob. 8-18-43         Feb. 17, 1943 Dk       Central       Filed         " " Surr (dk)       Central       St. Farm				rned, net. St. rarm
Feb. 17, 1943 Dk       Central       Filed         " " Surr (dk)       Central       St. Farm	Feb. 11, 1943	Paroled from St. Farm	Control 2-20-43.	G4 Form on Prob 9 19 42
" " Surr (dk) Central St. Farm			Central 2-15	Ellad
	Feb. 17, 1943	DK (33a)	Central	
Uct. 20, 1943 Kelease on parole, to exp. 2-10-44.				St. Parm
	Oct. 20, 1943	necesse on parote, to e	Ap. 2-10-24.	

# Hospitalization Record.

Boston City Hospital:

May 25, 1932 to May 26, 1932. Alcoholism.

Washingtonian Hospital:

Apr. 30, 1929 to May 4, 1929.

Dec. 27, 1930 to Jan. 3, 1931.

Dec. 19, 1938 to Dec. 24, 1938.

June 3, 1939 to June 6, 1939.

Dec. 31, 1940 to Jan. 5, 1941.

June 27, 1941 to July 2, 1941.

July 14, 1941 to July 21, 1941.

Nov. 22, 1941 to Nov. 26, 1941.

Oct. 28, 1943 to Nov. 3, 1943.

Feb. 22, 1944 to Feb. 29, 1944.

June 2, 1944 to June 8, 1944.

32-2 YEAR		FEB	MAR	BORN	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP			DEC
1901												
1902												
1903			-									
1904												
1905												
1906												
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1910												
1911												
1912												
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1915												
1916												
1917												
1918												
1919		PPROFAM	ITY			ВС	BULLET	MOUND				
1920		-				VIII	A IN CITE		FGAMING			
1921												
1922							\$ LOITER					Rob.
1923	P(A+8)	Ros. F	LARC -	2 YRS HC	SC NP							
1924		A	TT LACER				RR	P		LARC. R. S. G	4-M DIS	M.
1925		2d 0.8.D						F 7d	18	CH	18 d	
1926	8d	Id OPD	6d OPD.	R 5d OPD	<u>Id</u> 0,P,D.	3d 0.P.D.	2 d	R 3d OPD		54 O.P.D PR	1d OPD	T N
1927	R	S.F = DI	1//	0110	0.11.0	OH TO	- CATO				R	
1928	R	30	R	R	RSE	装	R	FF	RF		I-M	
1929	P						F 10		PF		F 1-M	
1930	3d 0PD	FIM		16d 10PD.	SF SS			=	10	SF	N	
1931	OFD	1	1			R	F		F			
1932	R	F						H.C.	HC.	10		
1933				R	3 R			R	R 10		SE N	FM S
1934	RH	S	FN	S	F N			SF N	10	SE A		
1935			F 4d	8d 5	FNSF	1 56	FM-	1-14	Id SE	RF	S.F.	
1936	F	Ret S.F.	OFFI		RET. S.F.			RET.	S.F.			R
1937	1	*** **********************************	R	RRA	N 314	¥ 1	M SF	-	F	S.F	Rav	S.F
1938	- S.	E	REX.	SE				R				M N
1939		2-1/1					RR	PAR	F I	M 2		
1940	N		M X	SF S.C	2m 5	E 30	2-24	10	Townson - W	5 SE	Transport of the last	M
1941	15 S			IM	N	72		SF SC 1	MF	-M	I-M	SF FS
1942	SF SC		S.F.			RET.TO				RET TO	5F	
	3.K	1	3	0	F		#15	S.F.	WILLIAM	TOWN		3
1944		SE					17					F

# PERSONAL CHART 32-Z.

# Penological Record.

Male: born in 1904; twelve aliases; lived in five different places in low-cost housing areas of Boston.

Feb. 6, 1919	Profanity	Juvenile Court	Prob. Filed.
Sept. 27, 1920	Gaming	Juvenile Court	\$5 Costs — Shirley SS; Pr.; Filed
July 7, 1922	Loitering	Central	\$5. Paid
Dec. 22, 1922	Robbery	Central 12/28	Waived Examination
Jan. 9, 1923	Assault	Suff. Sup.	Prob. 1 yr. filed
Feb. 4, 1923	Robbery	uii. bup.	Filed
Mar. 14, 1923			
	Larceny Auto	Central	2 years H. C. — Appealed
Apr. 23, 1923	Larceny Auto	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
Feb. 14, 1924	Attempted B & I	E Central 2/19	Discharged
July 14, 1924	Dk.	6.6	RPO
July 20, 1924	44	44	RPO
Aug. 11, 1924			Prob. 2/11/25. Dismissed.
Oct. 6, 1924	Larceny	10/10	Discharged
Oct. 6, 1924	R. S. G.	44 46	4m HCSS, Pr. 4/15/25, cont. to
			10/1/26 — Dismissed.
Aug. 24, 1925	Dk.	4.4	Filed
Apr. 26, 1926	4.6	4.4	Released
Sept. 7, 1926	6.6	6.6	RPO '
Oct. 4, 1926	4.4	4.6	Prob. 4/6/27. Dismissed.
Oct. 25, 1926	4.4	44	RPO
Dec. 13, 1926	4.4	44	1 month H. C.
Jan. 31, 1927	4.6	East Boston	RPO
Feb. 28, 1927	4.6	Central	State Farm SS, Pr. 8/31/27 Dism.
Nov. 22, 1927	6.6		RPO
Jan. 30, 1928	4.6	4.6	RPO
Mar. 3, 1928	4.6	+4	RPO
Apr. 2, 1928	6.6	4.6	RPO
May 25, 1928	44	44	
	41	44	RPO
May 28, 1928	46		State Farm, Appealed
June 19, 1928	44	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
July 1, 1928		Central	RPO
Aug. 27, 1928	44	"	Filed
Sept. 3, 1928	Dk	Central	Rel. prob. officer
Sept. 15, 1928	Dk	Central	Filed
Sept. 24, 1928	4.6	Central	Filed
Nov. 13, 1928	44	Central	1 month H. C.
Nov. 28, 1928		use of Correction, t	
Jan. 28, 1929	4.6	Central	Prob. 7/30/29
July 22, 1929	4.4	4.6	Filed
July 22, 1929	" Surrender	4.6	10 days C. J.
Aug. 3, 1929	4.6	44	Prob. 3/5/30
Sept. 23, 1929	Dk.	Central	Filed
Sept. 23, 1929	" Surrender	44	Probation 3/26/30
Nov. 20, 1929	6.6	" 11/21	Filed
Nov. 20, 1929	" Surrender	" 11/21	1m HCSS, Prob. 11/12/30
Feb. 8, 1930	11		Filed
Feb. 8, 1930	" Surrender	64	1 month H. C.
	14	Roxbury	SFSS, Prob. 5/22/31
May 24, 1930	4.4	Central	
Sept. 15, 1930		,	10 days C. J.
Sept. 27, 1930	I & D	10/1	State Farm, Appealed
Nov. 13, 1930	I & D	Suffolk Superior	Nol Pros'd
June 1, 1931	Dk.	Central	RPO
July 15, 1931	"	46	Filed
Sept. 5, 1931	44	11	Filed
Jan. 24, 1932		44	RPO
Feb. 15, 1932	**	41	Filed

Sept. 27, 1932	Released on parol	e from H. C.	Expires 10/13/32
Oct. 3, 1932	Dk.	Central	Filed. Returned to H. C.
Apr. 10, 1933	44	44	RPO
May 2, 1933	66	6.6	5 days Jail
May 25, 1933	44	**	RPO
Aug. 28, 1933		4.6	RPO
Sept. 23, 1933	44	4.6	RPO
Sept. 27, 1933	46	4.6	10 days CJSS, Prob. 3/28/34
	66	10/4	Filed
Oct. 2, 1933		10/4	
Oct. 2, 1933	" Surrender	66	10 days C. J.
Oct. 16, 1933	44	16	State Farm, Appealed
Oct. 30, 1933			State Farm, Appealed.
Nov. 6, 1933	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Nov. 16, 1933	Dk	66 48	Nol prossed
Dec. 4, 1933	Dk	Central	St. Farm, app.
Jan. 4, 1934	Dk	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Jan. 17, 1934	Dk	Central	RPO
Mar. 10, 1934	66	4.6	St. Farm app.
Apr. 2, 1934	44	Suff. Sup.	No. prossed
May 9, 1934	44	Central	St. Farm app.
Jun. 4, 1934	4.6	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Aug. 23, 1934	44	Central	St. Farm app.
Sep. 4, 1934	46	Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Sep. 22, 1934	44	Central	10 ds. H .C.
	44	Central	
Oct. 25, 1934	44		St. Farm app.
Nov. 5, 1934		Suff. Sup.	Nol prossed
Mar. 30, 1935		Central	Filed
May 2, 1935	4.4	6.6	St. Farm app. 5-6-35 S. C. Nol pros.
May 11, 1935	46	44	St. Farm app. 6-3-35 S. C. Prob. 1 yr.
Jun. 20, 1935	- 44	84	1 mo. H. C.
Jul. 27, 1935	44	**	RPO
Aug. 16, 1935	4.6	1.6	1 mo. H. C.
Sep. 28, 1935	44	4.6	St. Farm ss Pr. 3-24-36
Oct. 9, 1935	66	44	RPO
Oct. 18, 1935	Dk	44	On file
	Surr (dk) .	44	St. Farm
Dec. 23, 1935	Rel. on parole, to	exp. 10-17-36.	
Jan. 2, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Mar. 31, 1936	Rel. on parole, to		
Apr. 6, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Jun. 29, 1936	Dk	Central	Filed, Ret. St. Farm
Dec. 22, 1936	Dk	Central	RPO
Mar. 31, 1937	Dk	Brighton	RPO
	Dk	_	RPO
Apr. 15, 1937		Central	
Apr. 27, 1937	Dk	6.6	RPO
May 1, 1937	Dk		1 Mo HC App
May 3, 1937	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
May 12, 1937	Dk	Central	3 Mos HC App
Jun. 7, 1937	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol Pros'd
Jun. 9, 1937	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC
Jul. 31, 1937	Dk	4.6	St. Fm. SS Pr. 1-26-38
Oct. 1, 1937	Dk	18	Filed
Oct. 1, 1937	Surr-Dk-7/31/37	44	St. Farm Com
Nov. 1, 1937		Farm to expire 9-3	30–38
Nov. 6, 1937	Parole St. Farm r		
Nov. 6, 1937	Dk	Central	Filed
Feb. 28, 1938		Farm to expire 10-	
Mar. 2, 1938	Dk	Central	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
May 18, 1938		Farm to expire 10-	
Aug. 19, 1938	Dk	Dorchester	Rel
			RPO
Nov. 6, 1938	Dk	Central	
Nov. 9, 1938	Dk	Central	5 days CJ
Nov. 15, 1938	Dk	Central	1 Mo HC App
Nov. 17, 1938	Dk	Central	3 Mos HC App

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Dec. 8, 1938 Dk (2) Suff. Sup. Nol Pros'd (2)
Dec. 27, 1938 Vag. Central 2 Mos Jail
Jul. 9, 1939 Dk Central RPO
Jul. 17, 1939 Dk Central RPO
Jul. 21, 1939 Dk Central 15 days HC
Jul. 27, 1939 Rel. on parole HC to expire 8-4-39.
Aug. 28, 1939 Dk Central Filed
Sep. 11, 1939 Dk Central 1 Mo HCSS Prob. 2-28-40
Sep. 11, 1939 Dk Central 2 Mos HCSS Prob. 4-17-40
Oct. 16, 1939 Dk Central 5 Mos HCS Prob. 4-17-40
Oct. 21, 1939 Dk Central 2 Mos HCSS Prob. 4-17-40
Oct. 21, 1939 Dk Central 2 Mos HC
Dec. 26, 1939 Dk Central 1 Mo HC App
Jan. 2, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup Nol Pros'd
Mar. 13, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup Nol Pros'd
Apr. 8, 1940 Dk Central St. Farm App
May 10, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup 2 Mos Jail
May 24, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup 2 Mos Jail
May 24, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup 2 Mos Jail
May 24, 1940 Dk Central RPO
Sep. 3, 1940 Dk Central RPO
Sep. 3, 1940 Dk Central RPO
Oct. 7, 1940 Dk Suff. Sup Nol Pros'd
Oct. 7, 1940 Dk Central St. Farm App
Oct. 16, 1940 Dk Central St. Farm App
Nov. 6, 1940 Dk Central St. Farm App
Nov. 6, 1940 Dk Central 1 Mo HC
Dec. 21, 1940 Rel. on parole HC to expire 1-11-41.
Dec. 30, 1940 Dk Central 15 days HC

        Dec. 21, 1940
        Rel. on parole HC to expire 1-11-41.

        Dec. 30, 1940
        Dk
        Central
        15 days HC

        Feb. 17, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        St. Farm App

        Mar. 4, 1941
        Dk
        Suff. Sup
        1 Mo Jail

        Apr. 7, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        1 Mo HC App

        Jun. 16, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        5t. Farm App

        Jul. 8, 1941
        Dk
        Suff. Sup
        1 Mo Jail

        Jul. 29, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        St. Farm App

        Aug. 5, 1941
        Dk
        Suff. Sup
        1 Mo Jail

        Sep. 22, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        Filed

        Sep. 26, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        1 Mo HC

        Oct. 27, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        1 Mo HC

        Dec. 1, 1941
        Dk
        Central
        1 Mo HC

        Dec. 1, 1942
        Dk
        Central
        St. Farm App

        Jan. 6, 1942
        Dk
        Suff. Sup
        Filed

        Jan. 21, 1942
        Dk
        Central
        St. Farm App

        Feb. 3, 1942
        Dk
        Suff. Sup
        St. Far
     Dec. 21, 1940 Rel. on parole HC to expire 1-11-41.
      May 1, 1942 Rel. on parole from State Farm to expire 2-2-43.
      May 4, 1942 Dk Central Filed-Ret. St.: Farm
      Sep. 4, 1942 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 2-2-43.
     Oct. 10, 1942 Dk Central Filed-Ret. St. Farm
     Jan. 19, 1943 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 2-2-43.

      Mar. 18, 1943
      Dk
      Central
      $15 Com.

      May 6, 1943
      Dk
      East Boston
      Filed

        Jul.
        9, 1934
        Dk
        Williamstown
        $15

        Jul.
        17, 1943
        Dk
        Williamstown
        State Farm

      Nov. 22, 1943 Rel. on parole St. Farm to expire 7-18-44.
                                                                                                                                                                  Central 12-20- Filed-Ret. St. Farm
     Dec. 18, 1943 Dk
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Record completed to January 27, 1944.

### Hospitalization Record.

Boston City Hospital:

June 16, 1919 to July 6, 1919. Bullet wound in chest.

Feb. 10, 1924 to Feb. 13, 1924. Alcoholism; lacerated right wrist. Put hand through broken window while trying to rob jewelry store.

Sept. 15, 1925 to Oct. 20, 1925. Severed tendons, right wrist.

Boston City Hospital — Out-Patient Dept.:

Feb. 17, 1925. Lacerated scalp.

Feb. 21, 1925. Same.

Aug. 27, 1925. Ruptured flexor tendons; laceration both hands; alcoholism.

Aug. 31, 1925. Treatment for same.

Sept. 15, 1925. Same.

Oct. 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 1925. Same.

Nov. 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20, 21, 24, 28, 1925. Same.

Dec. 1, 5, 8, 16, 19, 23, 28, 1925. Same.

Jan. 5, 8, 11, 13, 16, 20, 21, 23, 27, 30, 1926. Same.

Feb. 2, 27, 1926. Same.

Mar. 12, 20, 22, 24, 27, 29, 1926. Same.

Apr. 3, 5, 10, 13, 20, 1926. Same.

May 6, 1926. Same.

June 11, 19, 20, 23, 28, 1926. Same.

Aug. 14, 1926. Same.

Oct. 5, 9, 11, 23, 1926. Same.

Nov. 12, 1926. Same.

Feb. 9, 1930. G. C. urethritis.

Feb. 26, 27, 28, 1930. Treatment for same.

Mar. 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31, 1930. Same.

Apr. 3, 4, 10, 11, 18, 25, 1930. Same.

Aug. 16, 1932. Lacerated wrist; abrasions of face.

Aug. 18, 20, 23, 1932. Treatment for same.

Sept. 10, 1932. Lacerated scalp; fractured left clavicle. Fell on street.

Mar. 19, 1935. Dislocation left clavicle.

Mar. 19, 20, 22, 27, 29, 1935. Treatment for same.

Apr. 3, 5, 6, 10, 12, 15, 17, 22, 23, 1935. Same.

Apr. 24, 1937. Lacerated scalp. Fell down.

YEAR	14.51	MALI	2445	A D =	DAAN.	10,100	1111				NOV	
	JAN	FEB	MAK	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCI	NOV	DEC
1901												
1903												
1904												-
1905												
1906												
1907												
1908												
1909												
1910					1	YR	Cc	MMC	14	Jau		
1911	LΛ	RCENT			17			5. F.			[*M	
1912				5	. F.			R		P		
1913			F	M		S.F.		10	SFSC	P 4	M C	J.
1914	6-M				6-M		C.		Ю	-	P	P 10
1915					R		S. F.		10 3	M	S,	F.
1916		S.F.			SF SS	S	F.			P		
1917	F	2-M	HG.			F		S. F.				
1918				P	F	I-M- H.C.	P					FP
1919	FP			F	NI J.	10				SF F	5. F.	
1920					P		J. P	FHA	# SF 446	PF 2	M H	C.
1921			RB	R 2	M	F SS	PF	1-1-1 H.G.	A FSS	2-MI	PAS	-
1922	I-M			P		R	FIO		24	P		
1923		5F 55	F	S,	F		-RET.	S.F.		1	S.F. R	
1924			SF SS		F S.F			E-=	RET	S.F.		
1925						6 M	H.C.	P		4-M	3,	5.E
1926	.5.			M	-0.00	F.				S.F.		
1927	5. F.				F 336	2-M	c.HC	N. Sec	3-			
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1929					M SF	2 849	S. F.	F			5.F.	
1930	S.F.	F		SF			H H C	SENSE	HC	4		HE
.,,,,	H.C.		1-	M H		-	H.C.	ET MEF	10	3-M	H.C.	77777
1932	711/7/17	5. F.	77.77.77	FILM	RET.	S.F.	((11))22		SEZ	5F) 2/2	1	75///
1933	it is a second	11/4/11	1465/		1 X S G	F	WK. St.	5.	SS 7/3/7/	55 7/5/	79-255	MARY -
1934	5.1		RET	SE	The state of the s		RET	-	RET.	5.5	W////	
1935	3.7-	SF S	2.71				DHAM		RET.	S.F.		RE
1936		S.F.				5.			KEL	-3-5-		I KE
1937		S. F.			加瓷	APPEA	C WITHD	S. F.				
1938		5. F	-		F	N	4 1/4	SF SS	S,	<u></u>	RE	100
1939		\$	1	c	A	2-1	4 H.C		1777777	1777777	1777	3///
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1941		1111117	17-1-1	14/1/19	the holy of the	77777	111111	14659	444	11/1/1/1	11/1/1	1////
1942			OXB	Y//////	1/1/1/10	7.11.11	Y//////	Y / / / / / / /	1/////	1311111	194	1///
1943		1//////	706//	SOLX	15/19	44/	MAKEN	1/88X/8	MEVENE	0/////	1/////	1////

# PERSONAL CHART 41-Z.

# Penological Record.

Male; born in 1886; ten aliases; lived at four different places in suburban towns and cities in metropolitan Boston area.

Mar. 25, 1910	Larceny	Central	1 yr. C. Jail
Nov. 3, 1911	Larceny	Central	1 mo C. Jail
May 26, 1911	Drunk	14	10 dys HC
June 19, 1911	44	4.6	St Farm
Mar. 4, 1912	4.4	4.4	St Farm
Aug. 23, 1912	44	6.6	RPO
Aug. 29, 1912	44	4.4	5 days HC
Oct. 10, 1912	64	6.6	Prob.
Mar. 17, 1913	4.6	66	Filed
Mai. 17, 1919	Sur (dk)	41	1 mo Jail
Apr. 17, 1913	Dk	6.6	State Farm
	UK ()	4.6	
	44	44	10 dys HC
Sept. 12, 1913	66	14	St. Farm ap (S. C. Prob.)
Oct. 8, 1913	64	**	4 mos Jail
Jan. 5, 1914	44	44	6 mos HC ss Prob.
Mar. 21, 1914		**	Filed
	Sur (dk)		6 mos HC
Sept. 17, 1914	Dk	4.4	10 ds Jail
Nov. 30, 1914	Dk	Central	Prob.
Dec. 7, 1914	Dk	44	Filed
Dec. 7, 1914	Surr. dk	44	10 days H. C.
May 25, 1915	44	16	Rel.
May 26, 1915	44	44	St Farm
Aug. 13, 1915	44	4.6	10 dys HC
Sept. 17, 1915	6.6	4.4	2 mos HC
Oct. 23, 1915	64	4.6	St Farm
May 8, 1916	44	44	SF as Prob.
May 10, 1916	44	6.6	Filed
	Sur (dk)	18	St Farm
Oct. 23, 1916	Dk		Prob.
Oct. 24, 1916	6.6	Dedham	2 - 000
Jan. 29, 1917	Sur (dk)	Central	2 mos HC
11 11 11	Dk	11	Filed
June 11, 1917	11	4.6	Filed
June 14, 1917	44	4.6	St Farm
	4.6	44	Prob.
Apr. 8, 1918		4.6	
May 23, 1918	Sur (dk)	4.6	1 mo HC
T 1 - 0 1010	Dk "		Filed
July 8, 1918	66	14	Prob.
Dec. 23, 1918		44	Filed
	Sur (dk)	44	Prob.
Jan. 13, 1919	Dk		Filed
	Sur (dk)	4.6	Prob.
Apr. 18, 1919	Dk	66	On file
	Sur (dk)	4.4	1 mo C. Jail
June 11, 1919	Dk	44	10 dys HC
Oct. 2, 1919	4.4	" 10–3	SF ss Prob. 4-7-20
Oct. 6, 1919	44	44	Filed
	Sur (dk)	44	State Farm
Apr. 14, 1920	Dk	4.4	1 mo Jail
May 10, 1920	Dk	4.4	Prob.
June 7, 1920	Sur (dk)	11	Prob.
	Dk	14	Filed
June 9, 1920	Sur (dk)	**	1 mo Jail
	Dk	14	Filed
July 23, 1920	Dk	Boston Muncp	ss Prob.
20, 2020		out the state of	

Sept. 14, 1920	A 10 1000	DI.	70	73/1 1
Sept. 14, 1920 Oct. 18, 1920 Dct. 19, 1920 Sur (dk) Dct. 19, 1920 Dct. 19, 1921 Dct. 10, 1921 Dct. 1	Aug. 10, 1920	Dk	Boston Muncp	Filed
Oct. 18, 1920   Dk	Comt 14 1000			
Oct. 19, 1920   Sur (dk)				
Discription				
Mar. 18, 1921 " "RPO Mar. 22, 1921 " " 10 dys HC Apr. 3, 1921 " " RPO Apr. 4, 1921 " " 2 mos HC June 7, 1921 " " 6-10 On file  June 16, 1921 " " " 6-10 On file  June 16, 1921 " " " Filed  Sur (dk) " 1 mo HC as Prob.  Sur (dk) " 2 mos HC app  Sept. 1, 1921 Dk " Filed  Sept. 0, 1921 Dk " Filed  Sept. 10, 1921 " " Filed  Sur (dk) " Prob.  Sour (dk) " Prob.  Sept. 10, 1921 Dk " Filed  Sur (dk) " Suff Super  Nov. 11, 1921 Dk Central Filed  Nov. 11, 1921 Dk Suff Super Nov. 22, 1921 Dk Suff Super Prob. Sur (dk) " State Farm app  Nov. 22, 1922 " " St Farm app  Feb. 22, 1922 " " RPO  June 4, 1922 " " RPO  June 4, 1922 " " RPO  June 7, 1922 " " " RPO  Oct. 19, 1923 " " " State Farm  Sur (dk) " Suff Super  Filed Sur Gke Farm  Sur (dk) " State Farm  Sur (dk) " State Farm app  Sept. 10, 1921 " " St Farm app  Sept. 10, 1922 " " RPO  Appr. 3, 1922 " " RPO  Appr. 3, 1922 " " RPO  Oct. 19, 1923 " " " Prob.  Sur (dk) " State Farm app  Sept. 9, 1923 " " " RPO  Oct. 19, 1923 " " " RPO  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " Filed (Ret SF)  Nov. 13, 1923 " " " RPO  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 18, 1925 " " " St Farm app  Aug. 1924 Dk " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 2, 1924 Dk " " State Farm  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 1, 1926 " " " State Farm  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " " State Farm  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " " State Farm  Aug. 6, 1927 " " State Farm  Aug. 1, 1926 " " " State Farm  Aug. 1, 1926 " " " State Farm  Aug. 1, 1926 " " " State Farm  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " " State Farm  Aug. 6, 1927 " " " State Farm  Aug. 6, 1927 " " " State Farm  Aug. 6, 1927 " " " State Farm  Aug. 6	Oct. 19, 1920			
Mar. 22, 1921 " " 10 dys HC Apr. 4, 1921 " " 2 mos HC June 7, 1921 " " " 6-10 On file June 16, 1921 " " " 1 mo HC as Prob. July 18, 1921 " " Filed  Sur (dk) " 1 mo HC Aug. 30, 1921 Dk " 2 mos HC app Sept. 1, 1921 Dk " 2 mos HC sept. Nov. 11, 1921 Dk " 2 mos HC app Sur (dk) " 2 mos HC app Sur (dk) " 2 mos HC sept. Nov. 11, 1921 Dk " 2 mos HC app Nov. 15, 1921 " " Filed Nov. 15, 1921 " " Filed Nov. 15, 1921 " " State Farm app Nov. 22, 1922 " " State Farm app Sur (dk) " State Farm app Feb. 22, 1922 " " RPO Apr. 3, 1922 " " RPO July 6, 1922 " " Filed July 7, 1922 " " Filed July 7, 1922 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm app Feb. 28, 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1924 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm app Sur (dk) " State Farm app Feb. 29, 1923 " " Filed July 7, 1922 " " Filed July 6, 1922 " " " Filed July 7, 1922 " " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm Nov. 1933 " " Filed Nov. 1933 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm Sur (dk) " State Farm Sur (dk) " State Farm Nov. 1923 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1923 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1924 " " Filed Sur (dk) " State Farm Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1923 " " Filed Nov. 1924 " " Filed Nov. 1925 " " " Filed Nov. 1925 " " " Filed Nov. 1926 " " Filed Nov. 1927 " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "	3/ 10 1001			
Apr. 3, 1921 Apr. 4, 1921 Apr. 4, 1921 Apr. 4, 1921 Une 7, 1921 Apr. 6, 1921 Apr. 7, 1922 Apr. 8, 1923 Apr. 10, 1923 Apr. 4, 1921 Apr. 10, 1923 Apr. 10, Apr. 10, 1924 Apr. 10, 1924 Apr. 10, 1924 Apr. 10, 1924 Apr. 10, 1925 Apr. 10, 1924 Apr. 10, 1925 Apr. 10, 1925 Apr. 10, 1926 Apr. 10,				
Apr. 4, 1921 "				
June 7, 1921 June 16, 1921 July 18, 1921 July 30, 1921  July 30, 1921  Nov. 20, 1921  July 18, 1921  July 18, 1921  July 18, 1921  July 30, 1921  Dk  Sur (dk)  Sur Super  Filed  Nov. 11, 1921  Nov. 22, 1921  Dk  Suff Super  Central  Nov. 15, 1921  June 2, 1922  July 7, 1922  Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  Suff Super  Central  Sur (dk)  Suff Super  Sur.  Central  I mo HC ss Prob.  Filed  Dk  Suff Super  Probation  State Farm app  Sur.  Central  I mo C. Jail  State Farm app  RPO  Apr. 3, 1922  State Farm app  Str.  Prob.  July 6, 1922  Sur.  Sur (dk)  Suff Super  Sur.  Central  I mo C. Jail  State Farm app  Str.  Prob.  Sur.  Prob.  Sur.  Prob.  Sur (dk)  State Farm app  SF ss Prob. 3-  Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  State Farm  Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  State Farm  Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  State Farm  Filed (Ret SF)  Sur (dk)				
June 16, 1921 July 18, 1921 July 18, 1921 July 30, 1921 Sur (dk)  Aug. 30, 1921 By 1921 Sur (dk)  Sur (dk)  Aug. 30, 1921 By 1922 By 1				
This Roy   September   Sur   Central   Sur   Central   Sur   Central   Sur   Sept.   Sur			0-10	
Sulp   Sol   1921   Sur   (dk)				
Sur (dk)				Prob.
Aug. 30, 1921 Dk "2 mos HC app Sept. 1, 1921 Sur (dk) "3 Filed Sept. 9, 1921 Dk "4 Filed Sept. 10, 1921 "4 Filed Sur (dk) "4 Prob. Filed Sur (dk) "5 Prob. Sur (dk) "5 Prob. Sur (dk) "6 Prob. Sur (dk) "7 Prob. Sur (dk) "8 Prob. Sur (dk) "9 Prob. Sur (dk) "10 Sur (dk) Sur (dk) Sur (dk) State Farm (dk) State Farm Sur (dk) "10 State Farm (dk) State Farm Sur (dk) "10 State Farm Sur (dk) State F	July 30, 1921			
Sept. 1, 1921   Sur (dk)				1 mo HC
Dig				
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Sur (dk) "State Farm  June 2, 1924 Dk "Filed Comm. Dk "Prob. 12-4-24  Aug. 5, 1924 Dk "S-5 Filed (Ret SF)  May 8, 1925 " 10 days CJ  May 18, 1925 " 6 mos HC  Aug. 18, 1925 " 4 mos HC ss Prob.  Aug. 22, 1925 Dk "Filed Sur (dk) "4 mos HC  Nov. 20, 1925 Dk "State Farm  Mar. 17, 1926 " 1 mo HC  Apr. 12, 1926 " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 12, 1926 Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27  May 5, 1927 Dk. Boston Munep. 5-6 Filed  May 9, 1927 "Suff Super 2 mos. H. C.  Aug. 5, 1927 "Boston Munep  Oct. 22, 1928 " St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)  Nov. 9, 1928 " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)  Nov. 9, 1928 " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)	Mar. 22, 1924	Dk	4.6	St Farm ss Prob.
Sur (dk)	May 2, 1924	44	4.6	Filed
Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " 8-5 Filed (Ret SF)  May 8, 1925 " " 10 days CJ  May 18, 1925 " " 6 mos HC  Aug. 18, 1925 " 4 mos HC se Prob.  Aug. 22, 1925 Dk " Filed  Sur (dk) " 4 mos HC  Nov. 20, 1925 Dk " State Farm  Mar. 17, 1926 " 1 mo HC  Apr. 12, 1926 " " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " " Filed (Ret SF)  May 9, 1927 " " Filed (Ret SF)  May 9, 1927 " " Suff Super 2 mos. H. C.  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Oct. 22, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)  Nov. 9, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)  Nov. 9, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)		Sur (dk)	6.6	State Farm
Comm. Dk	June 2, 1924		44	Filed
Aug. 5, 1924 Dk " 8-5 Filed (Ret SF)  May 8, 1925 " " 6 mos HC  Aug. 18, 1925 " 4 mos HC ss Prob.  Aug. 22, 1925 Dk " Filed  Sur (dk) " 4 mos HC  Nov. 20, 1925 Dk " State Farm  Mar. 17, 1926 " 1 mo HC  Apr. 12, 1926 " " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 12, 1926 Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27  May 5, 1927 Dk Boston Munep. 5-6 Filed  May 9, 1927 " Suff Super 2 mos. H. C.  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Munep St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)  Aug. 8, 1928 Dk Boston Munep  Oct. 22, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)  Nov. 9, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)		Comm. Dk	44	Prob. 12-4-24
May 8, 1925       "       "       10 days CJ         May 18, 1925       "       6 mos HC         Aug. 18, 1925       "       4 mos HC se Prob.         Aug. 22, 1925       Dk       "       Filed         Sur (dk)       "       4 mos HC         Nov. 20, 1925       Dk       "       State Farm         Mar. 17, 1926       "       1 mo HC         Apr. 12, 1926       "       State Farm         Aug. 17, 1926       "       Filed (Ret SF)         Aug. 12, 1926       Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27         May 5, 1927       Dk       Boston Munep. 5-6 Filed         May 9, 1927       "       State Farm app         June 6, 1927       "       Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug. 5, 1927       Boston Munep       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug. 8, 1928       Dk       Boston Munep       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov. 9, 1928       "       "       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)	Aug. 5, 1924		" 8-5	
May 18, 1925       "       "       6 mos HC         Aug. 18, 1925       "       "       4 mos HC ss Prob.         Aug. 22, 1925       Dk       "       Filed         Sur (dk)       "       4 mos HC         Nov. 20, 1925       Dk       "       State Farm         Mar. 17, 1926       "       1 mo HC         Apr. 12, 1926       "       "       State Farm         Aug. 17, 1926       "       "       Filed (Ret SF)         Aug. 12, 1926       Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27         May 5, 1927       Dk       Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed         May 9, 1927       "       State Farm app         June 6, 1927       "       Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug. 5, 1927       Boston Muncp       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug. 8, 1928       Dk       Boston Muncp       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov. 9, 1928       "       "       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)		44	44	
Aug. 18, 1925       " 4 mos HC ss Prob.         Aug. 22, 1925       Dk       " Filed         Sur (dk)       " 4 mos HC         Nov. 20, 1925       Dk       " State Farm         Mar. 17, 1926       " 1 mo HC         Apr. 12, 1926       " State Farm         Aug. 17, 1926       " Filed (Ret SF)         Aug. 12, 1926       Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27         May 5, 1927       Dk. Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed         May 9, 1927       " State Farm app         June 6, 1927       " Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug. 5, 1927       Boston Muncp       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug. 8, 1928       Dk       Boston Muncp       Filed         Nov. 9, 1928       " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)		44	44	
Aug. 22, 1925 Dk "Filed Sur (dk) " 4 mos HC  Nov. 20, 1925 Dk " State Farm  Mar. 17, 1926 " 1 mo HC  Apr. 12, 1926 " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " Filed (Ret SF)  Aug. 12, 1926 Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27  May 5, 1927 Dk. Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed  May 9, 1927 " " Suff Super  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Aug. 8, 1928 Dk Boston Muncp  Oct. 22, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)  Nov. 9, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)		44	44	
Sur (dk)		Dk	44	
Nov. 20, 1925 Dk " State Farm  Mar. 17, 1926 " " 1 mo HC  Apr. 12, 1926 " " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 " " State Farm  Aug. 17, 1926 Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27  May 5, 1927 Dk. Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed  May 9, 1927 " " State Farm app  June 6, 1927 " Suff Super 2 mos. H. C.  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Aug. 5, 1927 " Boston Muncp  Oct. 22, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)  Nov. 9, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)			44	4 mos HC
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Aug. 12, 1926       Rel. on par. exp 4-11-27         May 5, 1927       Dk.       Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed         May 9, 1927       " Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         June 6, 1927       " Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug. 5, 1927       Boston Muncp       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug. 8, 1928       Dk       Boston Muncp       Filed         Oct. 22, 1928       " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov. 9, 1928       " 1 mo HC		44	44	
May       5, 1927       Dk.       Boston Muncp. 5-6 Filed         May       9, 1927       "       State Farm app         June       6, 1927       "       Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug.       5, 1927       "       Boston Muncp       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug.       8, 1928       Dk       Boston Muncp       Filed         Oct.       22, 1928       "       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov.       9, 1928       "       1 mo HC		Rel on par exp	4-11-27	
May       9, 1927       "       State Farm app         June       6, 1927       "       Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug.       5, 1927       "       Boston Munep       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug.       8, 1928       Dk       Boston Munep       Filed         Oct.       22, 1928       "       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov.       9, 1928       "       1 mo HC			Boston Munco 5	6 Filed
June 6, 1927 "       Suff Super       2 mos. H. C.         Aug. 5, 1927 "       Boston Munep       St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC)         Aug. 8, 1928 Dk       Boston Munep       Filed         Oct. 22, 1928 "       "       St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.)         Nov. 9, 1928 "       "       1 mo HC				
Aug. 5, 1927 "Boston Muncp St Farm app (SC 3 mos. HC) Aug. 8, 1928 Dk Boston Muncp Filed Oct. 22, 1928 " "St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.) Nov. 9, 1928 " "Imo HC			Suff Super	
Aug. 8, 1928 Dk Boston Muncp Filed Oct. 22, 1928 " " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.) Nov. 9, 1928 " " 1 mo HC				
Oct. 22, 1928 " St Farm app (SC 6 mos. Prob.) Nov. 9, 1928 " 1 mo HC				
Nov. 9, 1928 " 1 mo HC				
Nov. 9, 1928				
Apr. 11, 1929				
	Apr. 11, 1929			1110

Apr. 22, 1929		1 mo CJ
May 23, 1929	" 5–25	SF as Prob.
May 29, 1929	44 44	Filed
	Sur (dk)	State Farm
Aug. 29, 1929	Rel. on par. fm SF-exp 5-28-30	
Sept. 3, 1929	Dk Boston Muncp	Filed (Ret SF)
Feb. 6, 1930	Rel. on parole-exp 6-2-30	2 3304 (2000 102)
Feb. 14, 1930		T-1-1 (D-+ CT)
		Filed (Ret SF)
May 29, 1930		
May 31, 1930	Dk Boston Muncp	1 mo HC
June 25, 1930		10 dys HC
July 5, 1930	64	1 mo HC
Aug. 5, 1930	44	2 mos. HC
Oct. 6, 1930	44	4 mos. HC
Jan. 31, 1931	11	10 ds C. J.
Feb. 10, 1931	44	1 mo HC
Mar. 5, 1931	64	3 mos HC
June 1, 1931	44	2 mos HC 8-3-31
Aug. 1, 1931	44	
	Dk "	St Farm app (SC nol pros.)
Aug. 7, 1931	DR "	St Farm app (9-8-31 SC-\$10)
Sept. 28, 1931		3 mos HC
Dec. 28, 1931		SF ss Prob
Dec. 30, 1931	44	Filed
	(Sur) (dk) "	State Farm
Mar. 30, 1932	Rel. on par-exp 12-29-32	
Aug. 2, 1932	Rel. on " 1-1-33	
Apr. 13, 1933	Dk Boston Muncp	1 mo HC ss Prob.
Apr. 14, 1933	11	Filed
11, 1000	Sur (dk)	1 mo HC
May 11, 1933	Dk "	
	DK	State Farm app
June 5, 1933	Sun Super.	On file
Oct. 30, 1933	Dogon Munch	State Farm ss Prob. 5-2-34
Nov. 8, 1933	Drunk Dedham	State Farm comm.
Feb. 8, 1934	Rel. on parole 11–7–34	
Feb. 10, 1934	Drunk Central	Filed
66 66 64	Sur (dk) " 2-12 S	State Farm
Jun. 11, 1934	Rel. on parole 2-11-35	
Jun. 13, 1934	Parole revoked	
	Rel. on parole	
Tob 15 1005	D	State Farm app
Mar. 4, 1935	Drunk Suff. Super.	2 mos HC
May 2 1935	Rel. from HC on expiration of sente	
May 3, 1935		
		RPO
May 6, 1935		SF ss Prob. 1 yr.
May 7, 1935	Drunk Dedham	Filed
May 7, 1935	our (uk)	State Farm
Aug. 6, 1935	_	
Aug. 9, 1935		State Farm
Dec. 9, 1935	Rel. on parole 5-8-36	
Dec. 10, 1935	Drunk Central	Filed (Ret SF)
Apr. 25, 1936		
Apr. 27, 1936		Filed
Apr. 28, 1936	Drunk Central	State Farm app
May 4, 1936		Filed
May 5, 1936		
	Drunk Central	State Farm
Aug. 5, 1936		E' 1 (D + CE)
Aug. 7, 1936	Drunk Central	Filed (Ret SF)
Dec. 8, 1936	Drunk Central	Filed (Ret SF)
Apr. 23, 1937	Paroled, to exp. 5-7-37.	
Apr. 24, 1937		10 ds. Jail
Apr. 28, 1937	Dk "	10 ds. H. C.
May 8, 1937	Dk Dedham	St. Farm app.
May 10, 1937		St. Farm
	Rel. at expiration.	
May 9, 1955		

May	10, 1938	Dk	Dedham	Filed
May	11, 1938	Dk	Dedham	St. Farm
May	10, 1939	Rel. at expiration	from State Farm.	
May	15, 1939	Dk	Central	St. Farm App
Jun.	5, 1939	Dk	Suff. Sup	Nol. Pros'd
Jun.	8, 1939	Dk	Central	2 Mos HC
Aug.	7, 1939	Dk	Central 8-11	St. Farm SS Prob -7-40
Aug.	16, 1939	Dk	Central	Filed
Aug.	16, 1939	Surr-Dk	Central	St. Farm
Nov.	16, 1939	Rel. on parole SF	to expire 8-14-40.	
Nov.	17, 1939	Dk	Dedham	Filed-Ret. St. Farm
Aug.	16, 1940	Rel. from St. Far	m at expiration.	
Aug.	18, 1940	Dk	Central	RPO
Aug.	19, 1940	Dk	Central	10 days HC
Oct.	24, 1941	Dk	Central	10 days CJ

#### Record complete 1–31–44.

### Hospitalization Record.

### Boston City Hospital:

Sept. 8, 1921 to Sept. 10, 1921. Acute alcoholism.

Apr. 2, 1924 to Apr. 5, 1924. Alcoholism; abrasions of face. Fell downstairs while drunk.

Aug. 14, 1926 to Aug. 15, 1926. Alcoholism.

June 7, 1933 to June 8, 1933. Alcoholism.

### Tewksbury State Hospital:

Nov. 8, 1931 to Dec. 9, 1941. Chronic alcoholism; destitution. Committed to Foxborough State Hospital.

# Foxborough State Hospital:

Dec. 9, 1941 — still there when last checked, July 15, 1944. Chronic alcoholic deterioration.







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